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DOKSA IN VSAKDANJOST

DOXA AND EVERYDAYNESS

Martin Uranič

FENOMENOLOŠKO PRIBLIŽEVANJE VSAKDANJI PRAOBIČAJNOSTI S HERAKLITOM

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::POVZETEK

Prispevek je poskus hermenevtično fenomenološkega približevanja staro-
grškemu mišljenju vsakdanje praobičajnosti, ki še pred vsako absolutno metafizič-
no zarezo med svetlobo nadčutnega razuma ter nočjo minljivega vsakdana misli
bit kot *physis*, to je v premenah prisostvovanja/odsostvovanja. S pomočjo Herakli-
tovih izrekov ter Heideggrovega bitnozgodovinskega mišljenja tako članek onkraj
svetlobe razuma poskuša misliti tudi temo danzadnevnega življenja, ki je v zgodo-
vinski strugi metafizike uma vse prepogosto spregledana v svoji izvorni neodpra-
vljivosti.

Ključne besede: praobičajnost, bit, physis, prisotnost, Heraklit, Heidegger

ABSTRACT

PHENOMENOLOGICAL MOVING INTO NEARNESS TO THE BASIC
HABITUALITY WITH HERACLITUS
The article is a hermeneutical-phenomenological attempt at moving into close vicinity of
ancient Greek thinking of basic habituality. There, being as physis is thought before any
absolute metaphysical separation between the light of supra-sensual mind and the night
of everyday transience. The article therefore attempts to think the darkness of the every-
day life that was overlooked all too easily in the history of metaphysics of the mind. The
article hopes to achieve this with the help of Heidegger's history of being and fragments
of Heraclitus.

Key words: basic habituality, being, physis, presence, Heraclitus, Heidegger

O kje so to čudovite pokrajine, da se v njih pozabim,
kje so ta ognjena naročja, da v njih izgorim?

Božo Vodušek, *Brodolom*

::VOTLINSKA PRAOBIČAJNOST

Vnaprejšnjost vrženosti slehernega človeka v votlinski svet[1] vsakdanjega izkustva, kjer se že nekako »domač« s stvarmi vsakokrat lastnega okoliša vselej zadržuje, ni nič volitivnega, kar bi katerakoli človekova uvidevnost kdaj lahko izkoreninila, pa naj se zasnuje metafizično, ontološko, teološko, racionalno, transcendentalno, strogo empirično itd. ali ne. Še pred kakršnimkoli človekovim izrecnim zasnovanjem sveta kot sveta mu je namreč ta na generacijsko podedovan način že tu, na mestu, kjer je posameznik v zavetju lastne skupnosti odraščal, se skozi igro uvajal v s smislom zapolnjeni vsakdanjik odraslih, zrl planjave obdajajočih pokrajin, slutil skrivnosti, ki prebadajo utečenost danzadnevnega občevanja, spoznaval nagone, ki ga ženejo po zadovoljevanju raznovrstnih potreb, se uvedel v svoj lastni kulturni okoliš in nazadnje zagospodoval nad običajnim smislom vsakokratnega vsakdanjega življenja. Ta izvorna apriorna domačnost s svetom pred vsakršno refleksijo o svetu je *factum brutum* sleherne v svet vržene eksistence in je tako samoumevna, da je ovedenje tovrstne samoumevnosti običajno ravno že preskočeno v tem, ko človek preprosto biva v *nediferencirani* enotnosti lastne umeščenosti znotraj tega, kar mu je vseskozi najbližje in kar je Husserl v okviru transcendentalne fenomenologije imenoval *naravna naravnanost*, katere predpostavka je prav izvorna nevprašljivost vere v bit vsakokrat danega, a še netematiziranega *sveta življenja*.

A kako je z naravno naravnanostjo? Naravna naravnanost vsakdanje eksistence na svoj z relativnim, toda pomirljivim smislom zapolnjeni najbližji okoliš vselej že vznika iz primarne vpetosti in sprejetosti slehernega posameznika v merodajno zamejeni svet lastne človeške skupnosti, ki je z gledišča posamezne eksistence vseskozi njeno vnaprejšnje domovanje. Domačnost v domačnosti človeškega domovanja znotraj skupnosti se zatorej dogaja kot tisto najobičajnejše naravne naravnanosti – kot *praobičajnost*. Ta pa se zaradi svoje prazauplive samo(s)preglednosti v pomirljivi stanovitnosti podedovanega smisla ravno ne premore prepoznati kot *praobičajnost*.

Vendar pa nezmožnost samoprepoznavanja ni in nikoli ne more biti nikakršen manko naravne naravnanosti, marveč se nujno razkriva kot odločilna poteza nje same, kolikor je sleherna refleksija *praobičajnosti* kot take že hkrati premestitev (*me-*

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[1] Svet kot *votlinski svet* je resda bistveno zadeva metafizičnega mišljenja, kolikor se stvari doumevajoči Platonovi duši pokažejo *senčnate* šele z vidika uzrtja planjave idej, tako da bi na tem mestu lahko mirno govorili le o svetu kot takem, če ne bi prispodoba s svojo metaforičnostjo hkrati ustrezala starogrškemu bazičnemu odnosu do bivajočega, v katerem so spoznane stvari bivajoče prav pretežno skozi primat očesnega vida. Le v takšni kali se je bit bivajočega lahko s Platonom zasnovala kot *navzočnost navzočnega*.

tábasis) v neko drugo, nič več naravno naravnanost. Prav na tovrstno vpetost *naravne naravnanosti* v običajnem v spisu »Razkritje sveta kot izvor Evrope« opozarja Klaus Held, ko pravi, da je *naravna naravnanost*

> tista običajnost, v kateri »zmeraj že« živimo in ki je zategadelj ni mogoče speljevati na kakršnokoli odločitev naše volje; lahko bi jo imenovali praobičaj. […] Prelom začenjajočega mišljenja z naravno naravnanostjo ni v ničemer drugem kot v tem, da je življenjski svet prvič tematiziran *kot* svet, kar pomeni toliko, kot da je pranaravnanost stopila iz svoje nevpadljivosti.[2]

Rečeno z drugimi besedami, v predvolitivni običajni naravnanosti nič od vsega danzadnevno kažočega se bivajočega znotraj te izvorne prazaupljivosti ne izstopa in tudi ne more izstopati kot vprašljivo, in to vse dokler človeka v tej senčnati vasezagrnjenosti votlinskega občevanja s svetnimi rečmi kot žarek svetlobe nekako ne spreleti tisti skrivnostni *blisk biti*, ki zamaje samoumevnost živetega vsakdana in skozi katerega se poraja komajda sluteno neznansko razpoloženje, ki so ga stari imenovali ϑαυμάζειν, *čudenje*.

Čudenje se tedaj izvorno odpira kot čudenje nad tem, da bivajoče v vsem svojem izobilju sploh *je* – in to ne le, da *je* kakšno posamezno bivajoče, saj je to vendarle očitno že v slehernem pogledu in rokovanju s posameznim bivajočim – temveč da se nam izza bivajočih stvari javlja nekaj takega, kar se s posameznim bivajočim nikakor ne sklada in ga v tem neskladju tudi že presega. Ne le, da *so* stvari, temveč *je* obenem tudi *stvarnost stvari*.

Celota *stvarnosti stvarnega* pa ni nič drugega kot *bivajoče v celoti*, svet *kot* svet, ki odpira uvid v začudenje nad tem, da se poleg *pojavljajočih* se posameznih reči daje tudi nekaj takega kot *pojavljanje* samo, oziroma, da se dajeta tako *bivajoče* kot tudi *bit* tega bivajočega. Gledano s stališča vsakdanjih votlinskih senc se zatorej v čudenju poleg samih senc človeku razpira tudi senčnost kot taka. Ta pa se na začetku grškega mišljenja še ni porajala kot nasprotje zunajvotlinske metafizične svetlobe, temveč je imela svoj izvor v *vmesju* tega, kar je danzadnevni eksistenci dano kot bivajoče, in onega, kar je kot *nevsakdanje* sluteno zgolj v sunku temeljnega razpoloženja. Kakor na nekem mestu zapiše Heidegger:

> Ne vedoč kam, je čudenje v nekem *vmesju*, med najobičajnejšim, bivajočim, in njegovim neobičajnim, da ono '*je*'. Šele skozi čudenje se to vmesje kot vmesje osvobodi in razdvoji. Čudenje – razumljeno tranzitivno – s seboj prinaša pojavljanje najobičajnejšega v svoji neobičajnosti. […] Čudenje se ne obrača stran od običajnega, temveč k njemu, a k njemu kot najneobičajnejšemu od vsega v vsem.

....

[2] Held, K. (1998): *Fenomenološki spisi*. Ljubljana: Nova revija. Str. 83–4.

Kolikor se to razpoloženje obrača k celoti in v se v njej tudi nahaja, se imenuje *temeljno razpoloženje* [nem. *Grundstimmung*].[3]

Že pri starih Grkih izpričano razpoloženje čudenja tedaj odpira *vmesje*, ki šele zmore prelomiti s samoumevno praobičajnostjo.

S tem, ko se je starogrški človek skozi svojo *tubit* uglasil[4] v prebujajoče se razpoloženje *čudenja*, je tako hkrati vstopil v tisto *vmesnost* med danzadnevnim domovanjem in iz njega samega izraščajočo nedomačnostjo uvida, da to, kar mu je vseskozi v vsakdanu najbolj poznano, hkrati v sebi skriva tudi najneobičajnejše izkustvo bivajočega kot takega v celoti. Šele v tem zamaknjenem trenutku pa se sploh prvič zasveti svet *kot* svet, ki hkrati razkriva tesnobno zarezo, da *bivajočnost bivajočega*, kazanje samo, ni že tudi to, kar se kaže, *bivajoče*, in da tako zapaženo prikazovanje biti ni nič, kar bi s trudom svojega delovanja človek lahko predrugačil.

Kazanje samo je tedaj zgolj stvar motrečega *pomujanja*, ki se čudeč zaustavlja pred tako zapaženim temeljem vsega posamezno bivajočega. To zgolj še pogledujoče pomujanje pa so stari izvorno poimenovali z besedo *theoría*, ki je etimološko iz glagola izpeljana sestavljenka korenskih besed *théa* ter *horáo* in v dobesednem prevodu pomeni toliko kot 'gledanje izgleda'[5].

V zavetju starogrškega doumevajočega motrenja, ki vznikne z vzponom *theoría*, se je tako predsokratikom *bit* sploh šele prvič razprla kot φύσις *(phýsis)*, v razumevanju katere bi bil utečen dandanašnji prevod 'narava' prekratek, kolikor je φύσις na začetku mišljenja po Heideggerju[6] (1995: 15) naznačevala »to, kar vznika iz samega sebe (npr. poganjanje vrtnice), odpirajoče se razvijanje; v takem razvijanju: stopanje v prikazovanje, zadrževanje, ostajanje v njem, skratka, vznikajoč-zadržujoče se vladanje«.

[3] Heidegger, M. (1984): *Grundfragen der Philosophie. Ausgewählte »Probleme« der »Logik«*. GA 45. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann. Str. 168. »Nicht aus und nicht ein wissend steht das Er-staunen in einem *Zwischen*, zwischen dem Gewöhnlichsten, dem Seienden, und seiner Ungewöhnlichkeit, daß es '*ist*'. Dieses Zwischen wird erst durch das Er-staunen als Zwischen frei und auseinandergeworfen. Das Er-staunen – transitiv verstanden – erbringt das Aufscheinen des Gewöhnlichsten in seiner Ungewöhnlichkeit. […] Das Er-staunen wendet sich vom Gewöhnlichen nicht ab, sondern ihm zu, aber ihm als dem Ungewöhnlichsten von Allem in Allem. Sofern diese Stimmung auf das Ganze geht und im Ganzen steht, heißt sie *Grundstimmung*.«

[4] O zgovornosti govorice naj na tem mestu ponazori nemška beseda *die Stimmung*, ki med drugim poimenuje tako 'razpoloženje', 'počutje' kot tudi 'uglašenost'. Razpoloženost v tem kontekstu je torej uglašenost.

[5] »*Théa* (primerjaj teater) je videznost, izgled, s katerim se nekaj kaže, uzrtje, v katerem se nudi. Platon je ta izgled, v katerem prisotno kaže to, kar je, imenoval *eîdos*. Videti ta izgled, *eidénai*, je vedeti. *Horáo*, druga korenska beseda v *theoreîn* pomeni: nekaj gledati, ga imeti na očeh, ogledovati ga. Tako pridemo do naslednjega: *theoreîn* je *théan horân*: gledati izgled, s katerim se prikazuje prisotno in s tem pogledom ostajati gledajoč pri njem.« (Heidegger, 2003: 55–6)

[6] Heidegger je v svojem hermenevtičnem spoprijemom z antičnimi besedili vseskozi vztrajal, da vsakršen prevod iz izvirnika zadosti izvornemu mišljenju le toliko, kolikor misli upovedano skozi govorici lastno poimenovalno silo upovedanega, saj »besede in govorica niso lupine, v katere bi bile stvari zapakirane le za pisno in ustno sporazumevanje. V besedi, v govorici stvari šele postanejo, so.« (Heidegger, 1995: 14)

Kot φύσις pa se *bit bivajočega* v vznikanju in zadrževanju prikazovanja v prikazovanju razodeva na način *prisotnosti prisotnega*, preko katere posamezne stvari, ki se kažejo doumevanju v izstopu iz nevpadljivosti zadrževanja v praobičajnem, vstopajo v vidljivost prisotnega in iz njega tudi izstopajo.

Prisevanje prisotnega v vznik *prisostvovanja* tako hkrati vstopa v luč svetlobe in se iz nje kot *odsostvovanje odsotnega* naknadno umika v temo noči, o čemer govori znameniti Heraklitov fragment B123 *phýsis krýptesthai phileî*, narava se rada skriva, ali v prevodu Heideggerja (2003: 291) »[v]znikanje (iz sebeskrivanja) podarja nagnjenje k sebeskrivanju«. *Phýsis*, razumeta izvorno, zato ni le svetloba večne *prisotnosti* in negibni temelj vsega bivajočega, temveč se bistveno razkriva na način vznikanja iz lastne skritosti. Je torej temelj vsega *prisotnega*, ki obenem vpotegne bivajoče v svetlobo prisotnega samokazanja in to isto bivajoče tudi odtegne v lastno nepregledno skritost *odsostvovanja*. V takem obzorju starogrškega razumevanja biti tako vsakokratno bivajoče je, kar je, v tem, ko v zavetju *phýsis* vznika v neskritosti lastnega izgleda (*eídos*) in iz prisotnosti minevajoč ponika nazaj v lastno skritost. Kot o starogrški *phýsis* zapiše Urbančič:

> *Phýsis* je Bit v *Ne-skritosti* tako, da je *vzhajanje* prihajanje iz skritosti v *jaso* v ono »Ne-« same Ne-skritosti in zahajanje kot prehajanje iz jase v skritost. *Phýsis* kot *vzhajanje-zahajanje* določa bivajoče/stvari kot *nastajajoče* in *minevajoče*. Kajti bit podarja takšno gibanje stvarem, ki ga Grki mislijo kot nastajanje-minevanje bivajočega kot prihajajočega iz skritosti v jaso in prehajajočega iz jase v skritost.[7]

Preslikano na še ne vzniklo votlinsko prispodobo se tako na začetku bit, *phýsis*, to je *prisotnost*, mišljenju razodeva kot to, kar je *ápeiron*, brez-mejno, ki v mejah zaokroženega votlinskega sveta, kjer smrtniki vselej povečini bivajo v praobičajni naravnanosti, privaja bivajoče v svetlobo votlinskih izgledov in jih v naknadnem vzkratenju svetlobe prepušča nazaj v temo noči, sama pa se v tem dogodevanju človeku razodeva le v skrivnostnem blisku votlinskega trenutka, v katerem človek znotraj praobičajnosti v čudečem *vmesju* običajnega in neobičajnega zasluti skrivnostni temelj vsega bivajočega. Kar je pri tem bistveno, je, da tovrstno obzorje razumetja biti še ne misli omogočanja svetlobe kot onkrajvotlinskega sijanja večnega Sonca, ki bi v neprestanem sijanju bivajočemu vselej podarjalo tako izgled kot tudi človekov pogled, temveč se skozi *phýsis* bivajoče hkrati razkriva v *prisotnosti* svojega sijanja kot tudi zakriva v *odsotnosti sostvovanja* nepredirne teme. Sonce namreč še ni enačeno s stalno navzočnostjo (kot bo to od Platona dalje), temveč je, kakor pravi Heraklit, *sonce vsak dan novo*[8]. Bit kot prisotnost, ki v sebi krije tako prisostvovanje kot tudi odsostvovanje vsakega bivajočega, prežema celoto votlinskega oboka in se skozi igro vzajemnosti vzhajajočega zahajanja smrtniku razkrivajoč zakriva zdaj kot svetloba, zdaj kot umanjkanje svetlobe, se pravi *tema*.

....

[7] Urbančič, I. (2011): *Zgodovina nihilizma*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica. Str. 103–4.

[8] Heraklit, fragment B6.

Temačnost votlinskega sveta zatorej v obzorju Heraklita še ni doumeta kot umanjkanje platonistične *paideía*, kot posledica človekove okovanosti v verige *praobičajnega*, ki bi se z osvoboditvijo lahko povzpel do nadčutne *ideje dobrega* in s tem že hkrati osvetlil notranjost votlinskega sveta, temveč se temačnost daje prav kot temačnost, ki bistveno sopripada *phýsis* kot taki.

Izstop iz *praobičajnosti* zato v tem izvornem razumevanju biti nikakor še ne pomeni njenega zapuščanja, izstop nikakor še ni izstop iz votline na plano, temveč je izstop iz praobičajnosti danzadnevnega občevanja motreče ovedenje, da to, kar je običajno, v sebi skriva skrivnostni *blisk biti*, ki podarja sopripadnost *svetlobe sijanja* in *temačnosti ne-sijanja senc*. Bit kot prisotnost šele na ta način človeku sploh prvič prepušča uvid v svet kot svet, *kósmos* (»krasen red«). Toda to še ni po *ideji dobrega* omogočeni svet, saj tega *kósmos*-a, sledeč Heraklitu, *ni napravil niti kdo od bogov niti kdo od ljudi, ampak je bil vedno, je in bo: ogenj povsod živeč, prižigajoč osvetljene prostore življenja in ponovno gaseč razsvetljene prostore življenja[9]*.

Tako razumet pa *kósmos* še ni stvar božjega stvarjenja *ex nihilo*, kot ga je razumelo srednjeveško krščanstvo, niti še ni stvar novoveške prevlade subjektovega pred-stavljanja, marveč *je,* kar *je*, v tem, ko znotraj *teme* praobičajnega pobliskuje[10] kot večni skladni spor nasprotij, πόλεμος. Kakor zapiše Patočka (1997: 56), πόλεμος, »*blisk biti* iz noči sveta, pušča, da je vse enotno in da se kaže v tem, kar je.«

Po Heraklitu, ki s svojimi izreki razodeva izvorni način doumetja biti predplatonskega začetka zahodnega filozofije, bit (*phýsis*) torej bistvuje kot blisk nenehnega prisostvovanja prisostvujočega v premenah vznikanja in ponikanja sostvovanja, kot *prižiganje in gašenje razsvetljenih prostorov življenja.*

::HERAKLITOV ČLOVEK V NOČI

Do zdaj smo se usmerjali le na bit ne glede na njeno razmerje do posamezne grške *tubiti*. Kolikor pa se bit vselej daje le tistemu bivajočemu, ki v svoji biti že nekako razume bit, to bivajoče pa je lahko le človek kot *tubit*, se zdi, da je Heraklit *phýsis* hkrati mislil tudi v odnosu do *tubiti* kot mestu njenega razodevanja. Kakšen je potemtakem odnos med človekom v izstopu iz praobičajnosti in *phýsis* pri starih?

Namig k možnemu odgovoru nahajamo v prvem delu Heraklitovega izreka, ki se v celoti glasi:

Človek v noči prižiga sebi luč, ugašenega očesnega vida. Živeč se dotika mrtvega speč, prebujen se dotika spečega.[11]

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[9] Heraklit, fragment B30. (Prevod sledi Barbarićevemu prevodu, kjer je utečeno prevajanje besede *métra* z 'mero' sledeč izvornejšemu smislu fragmenta zamenjano s prevodom 'osvetljeni prostori življenja'. Prim. Barbarić 1997: 138.)

[10] τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει Κεραυνός (»Krmar vsega pa je Blisk«), Heraklit, fragment B64.

[11] Heraklit, fragment B26.

Izvornemu smislu fragmenta se sluteče približamo le, če razumemo, da je »'[b]iti v luči', motriti luč' […] Grkom pomenilo isto kot živeti.« (Barbarić, 1997: 131) Življenje se je starim namreč kazalo v *svetlobi dneva*, bivajoče pa je, kar je, v tem, ko se kaže v zavetju te svetlobe, ko se daje kot *fenomen*. Da so stari Grki ukoreninjeni v povezovanju svetlobe z življenjem, med drugim priča mitologija, po kateri nesmrtni bogovi bivajo v višavah Olimpa, duše umrlih odhajajo v mračno podzemlje Hada, smrtniki pa v dobi življenja bivajo na zemlji, *vmesju* življenja in neobhodljive smrti. Umanjkanje svetlobe tedaj pomeni smrt.

Vendar pa Heraklit v šestindvajsetem fragmentu človeka kljub temu postavi v *noč*, ki je hkrati onkraj običajne vpeljanosti človeka v danzadnevno prikazovanje reči ter se v istem trenutku zoperstavlja kasnejši Platonovi vpeljavi stalne navzočnosti svetlobe, brez katere bi celota bivajočega zdrknila v temačnost nebivajočega.

Je torej moč s Heraklitom zaslutiti, da je človek v odnosu do *phýsis* vržen v votlinski svet, kjer je onkraj medle, a trajne svetlobe, odprt tudi za srečevanje tistega, kar se skriva v sencah in mu nasproti pobliskuje kot *blisk biti*? Nenazadnje so Heraklita vendarle imenovali *hó Skoteinós* – »Temačni«. Si človek v noči tako sam prižiga luč, ugašenega očesnega vida, da bi se lahko dotaknil tistega, kar se skozi odsostvovanje poslavlja v temačnost nevidljivega?

Zdi se, da se človek šele na ta način, torej sam sebi prižigajoč luč, lahko dokoplje od običajnega uvida, da stvari so, da prisostvujejo, do druge, temačnejše ter manj običajne plati *phýsis*, ki v prisostvovanju ne le prisostvuje, temveč se hkrati v dvojni igri že odteguje v odsotnost odsostvovanja. Kar je za nas pomembno in na kar opozarja tudi Barbarić, je, da vstop v noč še ne pomeni zapuščanja votlinskega sveta praobičajnosti, temveč gre za poskus sestopa k ozadju bivajočega, k biti, ki ni nič bivajočega, a se vendarle vseskozi daje le skozi najdomačnejše bivajoče.

Človekov vstop v noč, ugaslost njegovega očesnega vida ne gre razumeti kot neko mistično odvračanje od vsakodnevne vpeljanosti v pojave, sredi katerih živimo, in odprtosti za mnogokratno srečevanje in občevanje z njimi. Nasprotno, prav v njih in sredi njih se odpira človeku ta nočni prostor nevidnega, a vendar nekako »osvetljenega«, namreč razberljivega, razločnega in s tem že nekako razčlenjenega […] Odločilno pa je tu, da pri vsakodnevnem občevanju s tistim, kar se pojavlja, človek ne ostane prikovan tako rekoč samo na površino in pročelje pojava, ampak se odpre tudi izkustvu tistega, kar je prav s tem pojavom ostalo prikrito in pritrgano[.][12]

Ker človek torej ni le bitje dneva, temveč se po svojem bistvu dotika tudi nočnega prostora biti, je *prižigajoč sebi luč* že bistveno razkrivajoč, že vedno sluteč noč pa tedaj sega v ozadje osvetljenih prostorov življenja in je zatorej zaradi tega celoto bi-

.……………………………………..
[12] Barbarić, D. (1997): »Človek v noči«. V: *Phainomena: glasilo Fenomenološkega društva v Ljubljani*, VI/19–20. Ljubljana: Nova revija. Str. 136.

vajočega zmožen motriti v tem, ko se skozi prisostvovanje razkriva na način vsako-kratnega bivajočega. Zdi se, da se starogrška *tubit* potemtakem z vstopom v noč po-stavlja v *primordialno resnico*, ki so jo stari poimenovali ἀλήθεια, ne-skritost, in na ta način vstopa v razmerje s *phýsis*.

Če na sledi premisleka zato prisluhnimo grški govorici, ki resnico izvorno misli privativno, *a-létheia* (ne-skritost), je vsakokratno bivajoče skozi razkrivajočo *tubit*, ki si prižiga luč, šele iztrgano iz skritosti *phýsis*, tako da privaja bivajoče iz prvotne skritosti v ne-skritost *tubitne* razklenjenosti biti. Človek sam je zato mesto *ne-skri-tosti*, ko drži vznikajoče sebe-kazanje *phýsis* v prikazovanju neskritega izgleda in to kazanje zbira v sopripadnost *phýsis* in *lógos*. *Lógos*, ki ni tu še nič logičnega, niti ni istoveten z latinskim izrazom *ratio*, umom, ki bi stal nasproti biti in si jo tako po-stavljal predse kot pred-met, temveč *lógos*, razumljen kot »stalni zbir, v sebi stoječa zbranost bivajočega, tj. bit« (Heidegger 1995: 132).

Razkrivanje skritosti temačnega ozadja pojavljanja se tako v prvotnem mišljenju godi skozi sopripadnost *phýsis* in *lógos*, a to razkrivanje vendarle še nikakor ne od-pravi skritosti, kolikor »seberazkrivanje nikoli ne odstrani skrivanja, ampak ga po-trebuje, da bi bistvovalo tako, kakor bistvuje raz-krivanje.« (Heidegger, 2003: 291).

Povedano drugače, nastanjenost arhaične *tubiti* v bližini *biti* se s Heraklitom raz-odeva kot človekova *hoja v bližino[13]*, *anchibasíe*, »ki imenuje bistveni odnošaj člove-ka do prisostvujočega znotraj neskritosti« (Heidegger, 2004: 161–2). Znotraj *ne-skritosti*, ki pa ni in je ne more biti brez darežljivega brezna *skrivnostne skritosti*, v temini katere se naposled izgubi celo osvetljeni pogled *človeka v noči* in se izgubi tudi sleherno vprašanje po zadnjem vzroku. Poslednjega vzroka namreč ni, na kar nas opozarja Heraklit, ko pravi, da je *aion* (čas trajanja) *otrok, ki se igra s kockami; kraljestvo otroka[14]*, ki se igra, ker se pač igra[15]. To igranje »igre pri-*sotnosti* in od-*sotnosti*«, kot povzame Hribar (1995: 84) pa ni nič drugega kot »*sostvovanje*, godenje in goditev biti bivajočega.«

::SOPRISOTNOST SVETLOBE IN TEME

V okviru Heraklitove temačne misli pod vplivom Heideggerjeve interpretacije in v navezavi na izvorno praobičajnost se zdaj ustavimo pri slutnji, ki nam narekuje, da se predplatonistično protometafizično mišljenje biti giblje na ravni *ontološke di-ference*, kjer je bit uzrta v razliki do bivajočega. *Bit* kot *prisotnost*, ki sama ne priso-

[13] Heraklit, fragment B122. O prevodu in spornosti Heideggrove interpretacije najkrajšega Heraklitovega fragmenta glej Zoretov (2017) članek »Znamenja na poti Heraklitovega mišljenja«.

[14] Heraklit, fragment B52.

[15] »Zakaj se veliki otrok svetovne igre, ki ga je Heraklit zagledal v *aion*, igra? Igra se, ker se igra. V igri se 'ker' izgubi. Igra je brez 'zakaj'. Igra se, ker se igra. Ostane le igra: najvišja in najgloblja.« (Heidegger, 1997: 169)

stvuje tako kot bivajoče, a vendar brez njenega sostvovanja ne bi bilo ne *prisotnosti* ne *odsotnosti* bivajočega. S stališča *prispodobe o votlini*: tako prehajanje prisevajoče svetlobe v jasnino razkritosti in zahajanje iz jasnine v temino skritosti sta načina, kako je človek sam v razmerju do *ne-skritosti*, ki je vselej neskritost v okviru votlinskega sveta, onkraj katerega človek trči le še ob večne zidove obokane votline. Bleščeča igra svetlobe in teme se zatorej izvorno dogaja prav v središču človekovega praobičajnega votlinskega domovanja v tem, ko se prebujajoče doumevanje v sporu senčnato-sončnate igre biti odpira *vmesju* dnevne svetlobe prisevajočega bivajočega in nočnega bliska biti.

Človek se potemtakem izvorno nahaja tako v *svetlobi* kot *temi*, v vmesju obeh, ki si bistveno sopripadata, saj ena potrebuje drugo, kolikor celoto tvorita šele v medsebojni breztemeljni *igri* vzhajanja/zahajanja. Tako *tema* kot *svetloba* sta, prisostvujeta, saj niča ni, kar je še kako dobro vedel Parmenid s svojo zapovedjo, da *je nujno govoriti in misliti, da bit JE, saj bit JE, nič pa ni JE*[16]. Zato tudi *tema* še ni nič, temveč bistveno spada k biti.

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[16] Parmenid, fragment B6, 1–2. Prevod: Urbančič, 1994: 118.

Damir Barbarić
KAJ JE
DOKSA?

10-36

::POVZETEK

Članek prevprašuje tako v antiki kot tudi v novoveški filozofiji ustaljeno dihotomijo med *dokso* in *episteme*. Čeravno se namreč zdi, da zgodovina filozofije od Platona do Husserla na prvo mesto postavlja *episteme* kot idejo znanosti, s katero se je um napotil k dokončni pojasnitvi absolutnega spoznanja in ki mora v svojem hodu opustiti vsakršno sklicevanje na *dokso*, pa po drugi strani avtorjevo poizvedovanje na vprašanje 'kaj je *doksa*' odpira možnost kompleksnejšega vpogleda v neprevprašano tradicionalno razmerje med *vedenjem* in *mnenjem*.

Ključne besede: doksa, episteme, ideja znanosti, novoveška filozofija, Husserl, Platon

ABSTRACT

WHAT IS DOXA?
Article re-examines the traditional dichotomy between doxa *and* episteme *known to both antiquity and modern philosophy. It seems that the history of philosophy, ranging from Plato to Husserl, favours* episteme *as the idea of science. To answer all questions pertaining to mind and absolute knowledge,* episteme *must be called upon and realm of doxa must be abandoned. However, inquiring into the question 'what is doxa' paves the way to the complex insight into the unquestioned traditional relationship between* knowledge *and* opinion.

Key words: doxa, episteme, the idea of science, modern philosophy, Husserl, Plato

::KAJ JE DOKSA?[1]

Morda v celotnem novoveškem življenju ni ideje, ki silneje in bolj nezadržno prodira kot ideja znanosti. Nič ne bo zaustavilo njenega zmagoslavnega pohoda, ker je po svojih upravičenih ciljih dejansko vseobsegajoča. Mišljena v idealni popolnosti bi bila ona sama um, ki poleg sebe in nad seboj ne bi več mogel imeti nikakršne avtoritete.[2]

Besede iz kratkega, a izjemno pomembnega Husserlovega programskega spisa *Filozofija kot stroga znanost* iz leta 1911 jasno izražajo razumevanje filozofije in gotovo danes veljajo v enaki meri, če ne še bolj, kot takrat, ko so bile zapisane. Zares, oporekati Husserlovi temeljni drži, ki pravi, da je »filozofija […] po svoji zgodovinski nameri najvišja in najstrožja med znanostmi, ki zastopa neuničljivo zahtevo človeštva po čistem in absolutnem spoznanju« (Husserl 1991: 5), ni preprosto. Tudi sam Husserl, čeravno je bil v poznem obdobju svojega mišljenja napeljan k vse intenzivnejšemu premisleku težavnih problemov intersubjektivnosti in k sprejemanju s tem povezane predznanstvene, predfilozofske ukoreninjenosti transcendentalno spoznavajočega subjekta v primarno dogajanje življenjskega sveta[3], tako da se je v nekem trenutku počutil celo pozvan izreči, da je »filozofija kot resna, stroga, resnično apodiktično stroga znanost« navsezadnje »odsanjana sanja« (Husserl 1976: 508), je navkljub vsemu do konca življenja ostal zvest ideji filozofije kot znanosti, oziroma ideji filozofije kot »človeške samorefleksije, samo-udejanjanja uma« (Husserl 1992: 269). To povsem nedvomno dokazuje tudi njegovo zadnje, nedokončano delo *Kriza evropskih znanosti in transcendentalna fenomenologija*, v katerem beremo:

Univerzalno apodiktično utemeljena in utemeljujoča znanost vznikne kot nujno najvišja funkcija človečanstva […], namreč funkcija omogočitve njegovega razvitja do osebne avtonomije in do vseobsegajoče avtonomije človeštva – ideja, ki tvori pogonsko življenjsko silo najvišje stopnje človečanstva. Tako filozofija ni nič drugega kot racionalizem skoz in skoz, vendar racionalizem, ki je v sebi razlikovan glede na različne stopnje gibanja od intence do izpolnitve, *ratio* v neprestanem gibanju samopojasnjevanja, začenši od prvega prodora filozofije v človeštvo, katerega vrojeni um je bil pred tem v stanju zakritosti, v têmi noči.[4]

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[1] Članek je slovenski prevod prispevka »Što je *doksa*?«, objavljenega v avtorjevi monografiji *K budućem mišljenju* (2005), ki je pred tem v nemščini izšel v zborniku *Interpreting Tradition & Modernity* ((2004): Zagreb: Institut za filozofiju) pod naslovom »Was ist *doxa*?«.

[2] Husserl, E. (1991): *Filozofija kot stroga znanost*. Ljubljana, Fenomenološko društvo, str. 11. [Ker je v slovenskem prevodu Husserlove monografije zadnja poved citata izpuščena, je prevod te povedi moj. (Op. prev.)]

[3] Prim. Held, K. (2000): »Na putu prema fenomenologiji svijeta« in »Politički svijet i njegov etički fundament« v *Fenomenologija političkog svijeta*. Zagreb, Matica hrvatska.

[4] Husserl, E. (1992): *Die Krisis der europäischen Wissenschaften und die transzendentale Phänomenologie*. V: *Gesammelte Schriften.* Hamburg, Felix Meiner Verlag, str. 273.

Husserl vidi idejo filozofije kot stroge znanosti dokončno udejanjeno v svoji fenomenologiji. Njeno izgradnjo zagotavlja z izrecno in temeljito razmejitvijo napram dvema poglavitnima sočasnima filozofskima smeroma, v katerih prepozna usodno nevarnost za resnično filozofijo, namreč napram svetovnonazorski filozofiji na eni strani ter naturalistični filozofiji na drugi.

Pod imenom filozofije v smislu svetovnega nazora Husserl zbere različne smeri filozofije življenja in eksistencializma, za katere meni, da izhajajo iz skepticizma kot nujne posledice radikalnega historicizma. Oba slednja slonita na uvidu, da bistvu življenja nujno pritiče stalno in neprenehno zavzemanje drže ter odločanje, kot tudi na tem utemeljeno delovanje. Preden namreč na osnovi presojanja o tem, kaj sploh lahko spoznamo, zavzamemo kakršenkoli teoretski položaj, smo že vedno na predznanstveni, predzavedni in tako rekoč predumski način sprejeli temeljna eksistencialna stališča, ki vodijo naše življenje in upravljajo z njim. Eksistenca posameznega človeka je nemogoča brez vnaprej sprejetih, čeprav najpogosteje neosveščenih temeljnih stališč o življenju v celoti in o njegovem smislu. Osveščen in že manj koherenten, celovito zaokrožen sistem teh temeljnih stališč pa se imenuje »nazor na svet« ali »svetovni nazor«. Husserl v njem prepozna zgolj mikaven in zapeljiv poizkus, da bi se vseobsegajoča naloga filozofije omejila in zvedla na stališče ene osebe ali pa na pogled posamezne zgodovinske epohe.

Svetovni nazor pravzaprav ne pretendira na filozofijo ali znanost. Kar hoče biti, je modrost: »Filozofija svetovnega nazora uči enako kot modrost: osebnost se obrača k osebnosti« (Husserl 1991: 44). Husserl pa želi filozofijo kot znanost najostreje razlikovati od tako razumljene modrosti: »Znanost [...] je neosebna. Njen sodelavec ne potrebuje modrosti, ampak teoretski dar« (*id.*: 45). Kadar je svetovni nazor uspešno izveden in prepričljivo razložen, je resda lahko svojevrstna stanovitna »globokoumnost«, ki zmore imponirati in ponuditi privid končne resnice. Pravzaprav pa ga ravno ta globokoumnost razločuje od filozofije in ji ga nepomirljivo zoperstavlja. Husserl odločno vztraja pri tem, da je »globokoumje [...] znak kaosa, ki ga hoče prava znanost spremeniti v kozmos, v enostaven, povsem jasen, razrešen red«, pri čemer tej trditvi pridodaja, da je »globokoumje [...] stvar modrosti, pojmovna razločnost in jasnost [pa] stvar stroge teorije« (*ibid.*).

Po Husserlu se torej prava filozofija kot stroga znanost popolnoma razlikuje od svetovnega nazora – ter njegove pretenzije na modrost – po svoji brezpogojni usmerjenosti k večnosti. Svetovnonazorska modrost ostaja vseskozi omejena s svojim izhodiščem in svojim končnim ciljem. Ostaja tako rekoč zamejena s časom, v katerem in iz katerega nastane, in zato nujno podleže nepremagljivemu relativizmu; tako relativizmu različnih teoretskih stališč kot tudi relativizmu različnih zgodovinskih epoh. Svetovni nazor je namreč vseskozi samo eden izmed možnih, zato se nujno postavlja nasproti drugim.

Po drugi strani filozofija kot znanost posameznemu človeku ali posamezni zgodovinski dobi resda ne ponuja gotovosti pribežališča v dozdevno končne in zadnje resnice, temveč ju zadržuje v odprtosti in nezaključenosti življenjskega horizonta, ki

je vseskozi prežet z nelagodno negotovostjo. V zameno pa ju tako rekoč izvzema iz ujetosti v čas in ju vključuje v večnost: »Svetovni nazori so lahko v sporu. Samo znanost lahko odloči in njena odločitev nosi pečat večnosti« (*id.*:43). Husserlova drža je povsem jasna in nedvoumna: »Zavoljo časa ne moremo opustiti večnosti« (*ibid.*). Niti najmanj namreč ne dvomi, da je »'ideja' znanosti nadčasovna«, oziroma, da je »[z]nanost […] naziv za absolutne, brezčasne vrednote« (*id.*: 40).

Filozofija je torej kot stroga znanost nedovršen in načelno nedovršljiv proces, ki odpira »neskončno polje dela« (*id.*: 46). Tisto pa, kar jo dela v pravem pomenu besede racionalno, in to za Husserla pomeni predvsem svobodno in avtonomno, je popolna neodvisnost od vsega, kar bi ji bilo na kakršenkoli način predhodno dano. Kot stroga znanost filozofija pričenja iz same sebe, se iz same sebe razvija in ima svojo edino dovršitev v večni oziroma neskončni uresničitvi same sebe. Husserl poudari, da je »pravi filozofski znanosti« svojstven popolni »radikalizem«, v katerem ne prevzemamo ničesar, kar je predhodno dano, […] nobenemu izročilu ne dopustimo, da bi veljalo kot začetek, in se ne damo zaslepiti nobenemu, še tako velikemu imenu, temveč skušamo priti do začetkov v svobodnem predajanju problemom samim in zahtevam, ki iz njih izhajajo.[5]

Historicizem je – skupaj z iz njega izhajajočo filozofijo življenja in svetovnim nazorom, ki se ponaša s poimenovanjem modrost – z naturalizmom kot drugim glavnim nasprotnikom filozofije kot stroge znanosti povezan s skupnim izhodiščem, ki ga Husserl imenuje »[p]raznoverje dejstev« (*id.*: 43). Z »dejstvom« v tem smislu misli polno in brezpogojno prepričanje, da je celokupnost naših odnosov, nadalje delovanja, mišljenja, opazovanja, pomislekov, ali, z eno besedo, vsake življenjske usmerjenosti nasploh, nujno usmerjena na nekaj, kar mora biti konec koncev dejansko. Husserlovo fenomenološko, strogo terminološko poimenovanje za to prvobitno predpostavko se glasi »generalna teza naravne naravnanosti«. Ta kot prvobitna »vera v bit«, torej vera v resnični svet kot zadnji in končni horizont vseh horizontov, v sebi hrani starodavno in na videz neizkorenljivo človeško prepričanje, da predmeti naše zavesti dejansko obstajajo, namreč, da v temelju vsakega akta naše zavesti, ki je po sebi zmeraj zgolj subjektiven, delen in perspektivistično relativen, vendarle mora obstajati nek »na sebi« obstoječi, neodvisno od raznolikosti svojega pojavljanja sebi samemu identični, objektivni, dejanski predmet.

V nasprotju s tovrstnim naturalizmom poskuša Husserl v pazljivih in korak za korakom napredujočih analizah mnogoterosti načinov, v katerih so zavesti dani predmeti različnih področij dejanskosti, najprej na svetlo spraviti vso posebnost in svojevrstnost psihičnih fenomenov v razmerju do fizičnih oziroma naravnih, zatem pa še obči način biti samih fenomenov kot takih, neodvisno od razlike med psihičnim in fizičnim. V teh analizah se prvič pokaže, da »[p]sihična bit, bit kot 'fenomen' principielno ni enotnost, ki bi se jo dalo izkusiti kot individualno identično«. Z drugimi besedami, pokaže se, da »v psihični sferi ni razlike med pojavom in bitjo«

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[5] Husserl, E. (1991): *Filozofija kot stroga znanost*. Ljubljana, Fenomenološko društvo, str. 46.

(*id.*: 23). Iz tega sledi obče spoznanje, da »fenomen […] ni nobena 'substancialna' enotnost, nima nikakršnih 'realnih lastnosti', ne pozna nobenih realnih delov, nobenih realnih sprememb in nobene kavzalnosti (vse te besede so uporabljene v naravoslovnem smislu)« (*ibid.*).

Če naj se torej prevlada naturalistično naravnanost filozofije kot eno izmed bistvenih razodevanj obče temeljne naravne naravnanosti, se mora jasno utrditi razlika, ki razlikuje med naravno, tj. empirično, ter čisto zavestjo. Filozofsko znanost, ki prevladala naturalizem, Husserl označi kot »fenomenologijo zavesti« (*id.*: 15). Z osvobajanjem zavesti od njene prepletenosti z naturalistično primarno naravnanostjo in njenim izčiščenjem do čiste fenomenologije kot zrenja oziroma intuiranja fenomenov kot čistih bistev, se doseže dejavnost, ki jo Husserl na sledi antičnih stoikov poimenuje fenomenološka *epoché,* namreč dejavnost svojevrstne suspenzije tiste generalne teze naravne naravnanosti, s katero se mora vsakemu predmetu zavesti nujno pripisati dejanski obstoj.

Na tem mestu ne moremo razložiti pravega pomena Husserlovega nauka o *epoché*, morda najbolje razloženega v paragrafih 27–32 prve knjige *Idej za čisto fenomenologijo in fenomenološko filozofijo* iz leta 1913[6]. Toda za naš namen je bolj kot vse drugo bistveno, da je Husserl »[o]mejenost naturalistične naravnanosti, v kateri se najprej vsi nahajamo in zaradi katere smo nesposobni odmisliti naravo, s tem pa tudi nesposobni, da bi psihično naredili za predmet nazornega raziskovanja v čisti, namesto v psiho-fizični naravnanosti« (Husserl 1991: 25), poimenoval s starim filozofskim poimenovanjem *doksa*. Čeprav Husserl sámo svetovnonazorsko filozofijo, skupaj z njeno nerazdružljivo vezanostjo na subjektivno izhodišče v konkretnem času in prostoru kot tudi z njeno usmerjenostjo na vselej epohalno izoblikovano »modrost«, izrecno ni poskušal prikazati v njeni polni ukoreninjenosti v prirojeno naravno naravnanost in njej pripadajočo generalno tezo, je očitno, da je fenomenološko *epoché* razumel kot edinstveno sočasno premagovanje tako naturalizma kot tudi historicizma oziroma iz njiju nastalih nazorov na svet. V toliko je enako očitno, da je s poimenovanjem *doksa* pri Husserlu označena celota človekove prvotne vezanosti na predprepričanje v dejansko obstojnost tistega trenutnega in danega, pa naj so to predmeti naše dejavne življenjske usmerjenosti v naravnem okolnem svetu ali pa iz tradicije podedovane in nevprašljivo veljavne ocene vrednosti in pomena vseh stvari ter pojavov v zgodovinskem svetu posameznega celovitega obdobja.

Filozofija kot *episteme*, torej kot stroga znanost, je mogoča samo na temelju odločnega in brezpogojnega prevladovanja *dokse*, te vrojene vključenosti v vselej dano in nahajljivo. S svojo osnovno filozofsko naravnanostjo se tako Husserl zavestno uvršča v krog naslednikov bistvene tendence celotne novoveške filozofije, ki jo sam sicer praviloma imenuje »transcendentalizem«. V poznem delu *Kriza evropskih znanosti in transcendentalna fenomenologija* zapiše:

..……………………………………..
[6] Husserl, E. (1997): *Ideje za čisto fenomenologijo in fenomenološko filozofijo*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica.

Izraz '*transcendentalna filozofija*'se je začel uporabljati po Kantu, in sicer tudi kot splošen naziv za univerzalne filozofije, katerih pojmi so se ravnali po Kantovih pojmih. Izraz 'transcendentalen'uporabljam v *najširšem smislu* za […] originalni motiv, ki z Descartesom daje smisel vsem novoveškim filozofijam in hoče v vseh njih tako rekoč priti k sebi, dobiti pristno in čisto podobo naloge in sistematični vpliv. To je motiv vpraševanja po zadnjem izviru vseh spoznavnih tvorb, izviru tega, da se spoznavajoči zave samega sebe in svojega spoznavajočega življenja, v katerem se mu vse zanj veljavne znanstvene tvorbe smotrnostno dogajajo, shranjujejo kot dediščina ter so in postajajo prosto razpoložljive.[7]

Zdaj se na sledi Husserlove določitve dotaknimo osnovne Kantove filozofske namere, ki je morda najbolje ubesedena v predgovorih k prvima dvema izdajama Kantovega glavnega dela. Videli bomo, da je tudi Kant v svojem vodilnem vprašanju, ali je filozofija, oziroma metafizika, mogoča kot znanost, pod znanostjo razumel predvsem »zanesljivo pot«, in to »za vse čase in v neskončne daljave« (Kant 2001: 17), kakor skoraj neutrudno ponavlja v predgovoru druge izdaje, včasih nazivajoč to pot kot »kraljevsko« ali pa »vojna cesta«. Kakor Husserl, ki želi resnično filozofijo kot znanost vzpostaviti po poti kritičnega obračuna z naturalizmom in historicistično-svetovnonazorsko filozofijo, si tudi Kant prizadeva metafiziko kot znanost zasnovati po poti dvojnega odklona; na eni strani od dogmatizma, po drugi pa od skepticizma in iz njega izhajajoče indiferentnosti, te matere »kaosa in noči«, kot se nenavadno patetično izrazi.

Dogmatski metafizični sistemi so, v kolikor so izpeljani brez predhodnega odmerjanja dosega naše spoznavne moči, vselej nujno delni, začasni in relativni. Zaradi tega je za Kanta vsa dogmatska metafizika »bojišče, ki se zdi prav posebej namenjeno urjenju moči v igranem spopadu, na katerem si še nikoli noben bojevnik ni mogel izbojevati niti najmanjšega prostora in s svojo zmago utemeljiti kake trajne posesti« (*id.*: 21). Preden namreč kritika umu odmeri meje njegovega spoznavnega dosega, ni vsa dogmatska filozofija nič drugega kot »golo tipanje« (*ibid.*) oziroma »brezttemelj[o] tipanj[e] in lahkomiseln[o] tavanj[e]« (*id.*: 29).

Skepticizem je dobrodošlo zdravilo in odmor od neutemeljenih pretenzij dogmatizma, čeprav sam nikoli ne more biti končni cilj in namen filozofiranja, temveč le začetna stopnja kritične priprave resnične filozofije kot »gotove poti znanosti«:

Tako je skepticizem počivališče človeškega uma, kjer lahko sam razmisli o svojem dogmatskem blodenju in kjer lahko pridobi načrt področja, na katerem se nahaja, da bi mogel svojo pot v prihodnje izbrati z večjo gotovostjo, vendar pa ne more biti njegovo stalno bivališče, saj se to lahko pridobi samo v popolni gotovosti, pa naj bo to gotovost spoznanja samih predmetov ali pa meja, znotraj katere je zaprto vse naše spoznanje predmetov.[8]

[7] Husserl, E. (2005): *Kriza evropskih znanosti in transcendentalna fenomenologija*. Ljubljana: SM. Str. 125–126.

[8] Kant, I.: *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. B 789 f.; A 761 in dalje; prim. B 806; A 778.

Tudi za Kanta je torej filozofija po svojem bistvu znanost, to pa pomeni gotova pot za vse čase in v brezkončno daljavo. Je mesto in prebivališče človeštva – »stalno bivališče«, njegova »trajna posest« in postajališče »večnega miru«[9]. Po Kantovih besedah za tako razumljeno znanost *Kritika čistega uma* šele pripravlja in čisti zarasla tla in v toliko sama še ni pravi sistem metafizike, temveč zgolj »preddverje znanosti« (Kant 2001: 18) V odnosu do zanesljivosti, gotovosti, trajnosti in večnosti znanosti je ves predkritični dogmatizem le »negotovo blodenje in tavanje oziroma »breztemeljno tipanje in lahkomiselno tavanje«.

Osnovne postavke, »dogme« metafizičnega dogmatizma so tu očitno izkušene in mišljenje v njihovem izvoru iz *dokse*, torej kot njeno dokončno izoblikovanje in zaokroženje v sistem navidezne gotovosti in stalnosti. Prav v tej navidezni utemeljenosti in gotovosti pa Kant prepozna bistveno nezadostnost vsakega dogmatizma. Vendar nemudoma doda, da racionalna metoda logičnega izpeljevanja za razliko od vsebine dogem tvori neminljivo vrednost dogmatizma. V tem sklopu izreče pomenljive besede:

Tisti, ki zavračajo njegov [tj. dogmatizma] način podajanja in hkrati tudi postopanje kritike čistega uma, ne morejo imeti v mislih ničesar drugega, kot da je treba v celoti odvreči okove *znanosti*, spremeniti delo v igro, gotovost v mnenje in filozofijo v filodoksijo.[10]

Izgleda torej, da Husserl svojo fenomenologijo kot strogo znanost upravičeno priključuje bogati dediščini obsežne struje transcendentalne filozofije, kot jo je pred vsemi drugimi izpeljal in izgradil Immanuel Kant. Toda nič manj utemeljeno ni njegovo sklicevanje na Descartesa. Za Husserla je bil namreč prav Descartes tisti, ki je v poudarjeni razliki tako nasproti zgodnje antičnemu, kakor tudi začetnemu novoveškemu zgolj »negativističnemu« skepticizmu, novoveško filozofijo zasnoval kot znanost, in to tako, da si je »skozi pekel kvaziskeptične epohé, ki je ni več mogoče preseči«, prizadeval »prodreti skozi vhodna vrata v nebesa absolutno racionalne filozofije« (Husserl 2005: 101).

Spomnimo se na kratko osnovne namere Descartesovega filozofiranja. Lahko bi se reklo, da njegova celotna filozofija kroži okoli ideje metode kot vsedoločujoče osi, kakor je sicer kasneje tudi sam Kant svojo *Kritiko čistega uma* označil za »traktat o metodi« (Kant 2001: 24). Že v zgodnjem, nedokončanem in za časa življenja neobjavljenem metodičnem spisu *Pravila za upravljanje duha* je Descartes pogoj možnosti filozofije kot znanosti – ali »modrosti«, kakor jo še naziva – našel v svobodnem samoomejevanju duha izključno na tisto, kar je s predhodnim presojanjem lastne spoznavne moči določil kot spoznanju dostopno, s čimer ni bilo v osnovi začrtano in določeno nič manj kot smer vse nadaljnje postopne izgradnje transcen-

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[9] *Id.* B 779; A 751.

[10] Kant, I. (2001): *Kritika čistega uma* 1/4, str. 32.

dentalne filozofije v prihodnjih stoletjih.[11] V naslovu drugega pravila pravi: »Potreb-
no se je ukvarjati zgolj s tistimi predmeti, za katerih nedvomljivo in gotovo spozna-
nje se naši duhovi zdijo zadostni«. To pobližje pomeni, da je potrebno končno
obrzdati ter omejiti »slepo vedoželjnost smrtnikov«, ki jih zavede na nepoznane,
mračne in negotove poti, in jih ravno s tem samoomejevanjem zvesti na »pravo« ter
»gotovo pot«, kjer se lahko brez tveganja in nevarnosti »stopa z gotovostjo«.

Descartesova »vsesplošna znanost« oziroma »modrost« je pravzaprav neka trajna,
stalna in obstojna ustanova (institutum), na kateri kot na svojem temelju z gotovo-
stjo počiva celotno človeško življenje, skup vseh posameznih znanosti in vse praktič-
ne dejavnosti. Z dejanjem radikalnega dvoma je potrebno nujno izstopiti iz celoku-
pnega horizonta čutnosti, iz vrojenih in podedovanih človeških nazorov ter mnenj
(opiniones) in iz na njih zasnovanih okrožij navade ter običaja (consuetudo), kakor
da bi se s tem nato dospelo do nekega povsem zanesljivega in gotovega, neoklevajo-
čega dna in temelja (fundamentum inconcussum). Spodbuda temu koraku je globo-
ko izkustvo vseprežemajoče negotovosti, protislovnosti, dvomljivosti in brezkrajne
spremenljivosti vsega, kar pripada življenju, ki je voden z golo navado, običajem ter
mnenjem. »Ne vidim niti ene stvari v svetu, ki bi se zadrževala in ostajala v istem sta-
nju«, se na nekem mestu *Razprave o metodi* (III, 2) pritožuje Descartes. Od tedaj –
mimogrede pripomnimo – je jasno, da ima Descartesovo, kakor tudi vsako drugo
brezpogojno zasledovanje gotovosti, svojo predpostavko, svoj izvor ter spodbudo v
skrajno nelagodnem izkustvu neke zagotovo neznosne življenjske negotovosti.

Filozofija kot stroga znanost, kot *episteme* – in to pomeni zanesljiv, gotov in ne-
dvomen hod neskončnega napredovanja – je tisto, kar združuje Descartesa, Kanta
in Husserla v njihovi osnovni filozofski nameri. Dvom, kritika in fenomenološka
epoche pa so tri različna imena za v osnovi identično potezo izhoda iz sveta *dokse*, to
pomeni navade, mnenja, običaja, oziroma sveta v popolni prežetosti skrajne nego-
tovosti, nezanesljivosti, tême in motnosti, oklevanja, slepega brezkončnega tavanja
ter blodenja brez določene smeri in cilja.

Pa ima Husserl prav, ko v tem brezpogojnem zapuščanju *dokse* in v nezaustavlji-
vem hodu proti stalnosti ter gotovosti *episteme* prepozna središčno in odločilno črto
celotne novoveške filozofije? Nedvomno so novoveške filozofije, sicer pogosto pre-
pletene tradicije empirizma in racionalizma, bistveno poenotene prav v tej osnovni
usmeritvi, čeprav se medsebojno razlikujejo v marsikaterem drugem pogledu. Neu-
smiljena borba proti predsodkom in brezpogojna potreba pričenjanja povsem od
začetka so v resnici ključne značilnosti celotnega novoveškega filozofiranja.[12]

Kako torej v tem pogledu stoji filozofija, ki jo imenujemo »nemški idealizem«?
Husserl na primer za Fichtejevo filozofijo trdi, da je še vedno povsem obvladana s pri

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[11] V zvezi s tem prim. poglavje »Rene Descartes« v: Barbarić, D. (1997): *Filozofija racionalizma*. Zagreb: Školska
knjiga, str. 49 itd.

[12] V tej trditvi se resda metodično napoveduje delo in težnja mislecev, kot so Vico, Pascal, Herder, Hamman ali
Jacobi. Toda njim tako ali tako v večji meri ni uspelo vplivati na bistveno smer novoveškega zgodovinskega
dogajanja.

Kantu pričeto težnjo po vzpostavljanju filozofije kot znanosti. Pomembnejši odmik od tega središčnega impulza Husserl najde šele v filozofiji romantike, posebno pri Heglu:

> Sprememba nastopi šele v romantični filozofiji. Čeprav tudi Hegel vztraja pri absolutni veljavnosti svoje metode in nauka, pa njegovemu sistemu manjka kritika uma, ki šele omogoča filozofsko znanstvenost. Zato pa je ta filozofija, kot romantična filozofija sploh, na prihodnost učinkovala v smislu *slabljenja* in *falsificiranja* nagona po konstituiranju stroge filozofske znanosti.[13]

S svojega stališča ima Husserl prav. To, kar Hegel razume pod filozofijo kot absolutno znanostjo, je bistveno različno od Husserlovega pojmovanja znanosti, ki se – prav tako, kakor pri Kantu ali Descartesu – kljub distanciranju od metode pozitivne matematične znanosti tako ali tako v bistvu naslanja na vodilni novoveški ideal kvantificirajoče vsesplošne znanosti (mathesis universalis). S svojim naukom o edinstvenosti filozofske metode in njene vsebine, kakor tudi z naukom o spekulativnem pojmu kot notranji duši in samogibanju stvari samih, ki je v popolnosti nedostopen abstraktnim matematičnim določitvam statične, zgolj mirujoče enote in zgolj zunanje lastnosti količine, Hegel nedvomno daleč presega idejo stroge znanosti v Husserlovem smislu.

Toda kljub temu se ne bi smelo spregledati, da je tudi Hegel v vseh bistvenih potezah svojega razumevanja filozofije močno ukoreninjen v osnovno matico ter temeljno smer celotnega novoveškega filozofiranja. Tudi zanj se namreč filozofija začenja z radikalnim, absolutnim skepticizmom, začenja se z dvomljenjem, celo z obupavanjem nad dejanskostjo »čutne gotovosti«. Hegel nadalje znanje in znanost, samo znanstvenost filozofije, določi predvsem z ostro protipostavitvijo napram *doksi*, ki se pri njem v glavnem imenuje »mnenje« (Meinung), kakor tudi z brezpogojnim vztrajanjem pri popolni in nepomirljivi razliki med mnenjem in resnico. Tako na primer na začetku svojih predavanj o zgodovini filozofiji reče:

> Mnenje je subjektivna predočba, slučajna misel, predstavnost, ki si jo jaz lahko domišljam tako, nekdo drugi drugače – mnenje je *moje*, ono ni na sebi splošna, po sebi in za sebe obstoječa misel. Toda filozofija ne vsebuje mnenj, saj filozofska mnenja ne obstajajo. Če slišimo človeka govoriti o filozofskih mnenjih – pa naj bo to sam pisec zgodovine filozofije – takoj zaslišimo nezadostnost resne izobrazbe. Filozofija je objektivna znanost resnice, je znanost njene nujnosti, pojmovno spoznavanje – ni ne mnenje ne ustvarjanje mnenj.[14]

Tudi pri Heglu je torej *doksi* – kot pri Descartesu, Kantu in Husserlu je tudi pri njem razumeta in določena izključno v smislu »mnenja« - pripisana zgolj naključnost in poljubnost, zgolj subjektivna individualnost. Na tem mestu ne moremo na-

[13] Husserl, E. (1991): *Filozofija kot stroga znanost*. Ljubljana, Fenomenološko društvo, str. 7.

[14] Hegel, G. W. F. (1971): *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Philosophie I*, str. 30.

dalje pokazati, kako je Hegel v znamenitem sklepu poglavja o čutni gotovosti z začetka *Fenomenologije duha* tu popolno individualnost, tam neuklonljivo »mojost« vsakega mnenja pokazal v njegovi popolni nemisljivosti in neizrekljivosti, kar zanj pomeni tudi v bistveni lažnosti, ki jo vsaka izgovorjena oziroma izmišljena beseda ali rečenica neizprosno preobrne ter iz zgolj privida prevede v obstojno splošno resnico.[15] Vključevanje Hegla v to razpravo je želelo zgolj pokazati, kako upravičeno velja v začetku podana Husserlova trditev, da v celem novoveškem življenju ni ideje, ki prodira silneje in bolj nezadržno kot ideja znanosti.

Velja to tudi za drugi del trditve, namreč za rek, da nič ne bo zaustavilo njenega zmagoslavnega pohoda? Pred vsakim poizkusom odgovora na vprašanje je potrebno nujno predhodno v temelju prepraštati, ali Husserlova diagnoza o filozofiji kot znanosti in o *doksi* kot tistem, kar mora biti v znanosti brezpogojno opuščeno, ukinjeno ter prevladano, velja enako tudi za celoto vse dozdajšnje filozofije na sploh, torej vse od njenega starogrškega izhodišča? Tako ali tako je δόξα predvsem grška stvar in beseda. Je δόξα tudi tam zgolj nekaj, od česar se je potrebno brezpogojno odvrniti, da bi se s tem zadobilo gotovost in zanesljivost večnega, brezkončno napredujočega hoda znanosti? Je bilo tudi tam vselej tako samoumevno, da bi morala biti negotovost in nezanesljivost življenjskega okrožja *dokse* nekaj, iz česar bi bilo treba nemudoma in za vsako ceno izstopiti? Bi se morda lahko šlo skupaj z Nietzschejem tako daleč, da bi se sam poziv k odvračanju od *dokse* in k njenemu prekoračenju ter opuščanju na koncu prepoznalo kot zgolj enega izmed vseh mogočih načinov njenega razodevanja – resda najbolj čudnega in tako rekoč najusodnejšega? Je potem morda sama *episteme,* kakor vsaka posamezna, tako tudi ena, vseobsegajoča filozofska znanost, le eden izmed pojavov vseobsegajoče in vsedoločujoče *dokse*? Zdi se, da nam vprašanje, kaj je v resnici *doksa*, počasi postaja ne le eno izmed mogočih, temveč eno izmed bistvenih in odločilnih vprašanj.

* * *

V pripravi možnega odgovora se obrnimo k mislecu, na katerega se zavedajoč ali ne opirajo vsi omenjeni poskusi, da se filozofija kot gotovo ter zanesljivo znanje in znanost zasnuje v odločni odvrnitvi od okrožja neobstojnega, negotovega in vselej spremenljivega mnenja. Seveda imamo v mislih Platona. Pri tem se bomo omejili na najkrajše, v precejšni meri poenostavljeno nanašanje in se ne bomo spuščali v temeljito ter obsežno razlago njegovega razumevanja *dokse*. V ta namen bi namreč morali interpretativno dobesedno iti skozi njegovo celotno delo.

Skozi celotno Platonovo delo se po poti temeljne strukture in tlorisa, na katerem se izgrajuje posamezen miselni domet, vije dobro poznana in zgodovinsko izjemno vplivna dvojnost na videz nepomirljivo nasprotujočih si okrožij: na eni strani vselej spreminjajoče se bivanje, to je časovno nastajanje in minevanje, na drugi strani večna, obstoj-

15 Prim. Barbarić, D. (2005): »Mišljenje i ono jednostavno.« V: *K budućem mišljenju.*

na in stalna bit. Na slednje se nanašajo um, razum, pravo spoznanje in znanost, na prvega pa v prvi vrsti čutnost, domišljija ter *doksa*. V okrožju *dokse* se zadržujemo kot ljudje v stalno aktivnem in pasivnem odnosu do posameznih čutnih reči, elementov narave, rastlinstva in živih bitij, medtem ko v okrožju biti in bistva naša duša spokojno miruje v čistem motrenju idej kot misljivih pravzorov vsega vidnega in čutnega.

Že od nekdaj je znano, da na ta način shematsko postavljen temeljni Platonov nauk ni njegova zadnja filozofska beseda in da je živo dogajanje njegovega filozofiranja zagotovo od samega začetka pravzaprav usmerjeno na to, kar ti dve, navidezno nezdružljivi okrožji biti in bivanja združuje, posreduje in spaja, resda tako, da hkrati varuje njuno razliko in bistveno lástnost vsakega izmed njiju. Kar pa ostaja splošno nepoznano, je dejstvo, da je pri Platonu prav *doksi* v mnogočem pripadala vloga spone in živega dogajanja posredovanja. Posebno v poznih Platonovih spisih je *doksa* pogosto – resda praviloma s pridevnikom »resnična« - na začudenje mnogih interpretov pomensko in rangovno skoraj izenačena z umom, logosom ter znanostjo (episteme). Kaj je torej *doksa* pri Platonu?

Tu se bomo poslužili dragocenega in v večji meri še danes relevantnega prikaza notranje sestave ter slojevitosti pomena *dokse*, ki ga je v »metakritičnem dodatku« druge izdaje svoje vplivne knjige *Platonov nauk o idejah* obelodanil Paul Natorp. Knjiga je bila objavljena leta 1902 in upravičeno slovi kot eno izmed najzaslužnejših celovitih tolmačenj Platonove filozofije v dvajsetem stoletju. Kakor namiguje že sam podnaslov »Uvod v idealizem«, je Natorp v tem delu v skladu s svojim novokantovstvom poskušal v Platonu najti ter pokazati odločujoči začetek ne samo transcendentalnega filozofiranja, marveč tudi idealizma na splošno, skupaj z njegovo primarno utemeljenostjo v refleksiji, samozavedanju ter mišljenju kot čisti zakonodajni spontanosti duha. Natorpova interpretacija je v osnovi anahronistična do te mere, da se jo v celoti težko označi kot povsem točno, vendar pa to nikakor ne pomeni, da njegovo delo ne ostaja v trajnem in neizčrpnem vrelcu poglobljenega razumevanja zazankanih ter pogosto komajda prehodljivih Platonovih miselnih korakov, in je primer tolmačenja, ki temelji v produktivnem somišljenju s tistim, kar razlaga. Med drugim je za nas bistveno, da Natorp po manj kot dvajsetih letih v drugi izdaji knjige skoraj povsem preobrne smer svojega razumevanja Platona ter v znamenitem »metakritičnem dodatku« z naslovom »Logos – Psyche – Eros« Platona vzvratno povezuje s Heraklitom, v središče novega, globljega tolmačenja pa postavi predvsem *dokso* kot dogajanje življenja, ki posreduje samega sebe in se dejavno drži v dinamični enotnosti s samim sabo. Če pogledamo malo bolje, je pomemben, lepo napisan ter nesporno globok »metakritični dodatek« v resnici predvsem celovita in temeljita razprava o *doksi* pri Platonu. Zberimo nekaj Natorpovih osnovnih uvidov.

Daleč od vsake enoznačnosti in enostavnosti *doksa* pri Platonu pomeni predvsem troje: 1. zgolj privid in videz, slepo neobrazloženo mnenje, ki se mora v znanstvenem hodu opustiti; 2. preprosto menjenje, da je nekaj takšno in takšno; nadalje nazor in prepričanje, ki je po sebi ravnodušno naprem vprašanja o resničnosti in lažnosti tistega, o čemer se meni; 3. sodba, stališče o nečem, dobljena v složnem pro-

cesu odstopanja od prvobitnega prepričanja ter njegovega vsestranskega premišljevanja, predvsem po poti vzporejanja s tistim, kar mu je enako ali podobno, oziroma od njega različno in nepodobno. V prvem pomenu se *doksa* očitno v popolnosti postavlja nasproti *episteme*, v drugem se navidezno nahaja izven vsakega odnosa nasproti *episteme*, v tretjem pomenu pa že sama *doksa* tvori prvi zasnavljajoči korak *episteme*.

Preudarimo najprej zadnji pomen. Platon na dveh dobro znanih in pomembnih mestih svojih dialogov (Theaet. 190a; Soph. 264b) *dokso* določi kot končno stališče, s katerim duša dokončno razrešuje nelagodno stanje spraševanja in negotovega dvomljenja o nečem, v čemer sprašujoč samo sebe in dajajoč si odgovore išče razrešitev, izrekajoč jo naposled v sebi brez glasu, kot odgovor, s katerim je končno opuščeno stanje obotavljajoče negotovosti, dvoma in neodločne odprtosti vprašanja. V tem smislu je *doksa* pripeljana najbližje sodbi in sojenju (krisis) ter izjavi in stavku (logos). Obstajajo tri bistvene značilnosti, s katerimi je na ta način, dojeta torej kot sodba, *doksa* že v osnovi opustila svojo začetno naravo in postala temelj celokupnega okrožja spoznanja, znanosti in védenja (episteme). Prvič, za sabo je pustila tisto sebi lastno mnogoznačnost in večpomenskost, spremenljivost in neoprijemljivost, umirila in ustalila se je ter postala stabilna in v toliko zanesljiva. Drugič, osvobodila se je svoje izvorne vezanosti na zgolj posamezne, ene in edine pojave ter prepuščenosti njeni enkratni individualnosti in s tem odmikom ter njenim vzporejajočim odnosom z drugimi pojavi zakorakala pod oblast občosti. Tretjič, ravno s tem je obenem opustila pasivno in receptivno zadržanje zgolj sprejemanja in utrpevanja tistega, kar se ji vseskozi enkratno dogaja, ter v sebi prebudila in iz sebe razvila lastno spontano dejavnost. Območje tako imenovanih občosti je lastno delovanju duše – to je eden izmed osnovnih uvidov, ki jih je Platon izboril v *Teajtetu*.

Iz nakazanih bistvenih lastnosti *dokse* kot sodbe in sojenja, torej v njenem prehodu v *episteme*, lahko tako rekoč za nazaj sklenimo o bistvenih značilnostih *dokse*, razumete v prvih dveh pomenih. Na primer, skupno obema je, da *dokso* prikazujeta kot bistveno pasivno, neposredno vezano na posameznost in popolnoma nestalno ter nestanovitno. In ravno te značilnosti so tisto, kar Platona – in potemtakem, kot smo videli, celotno njemu sledečo tradicijo znanstveno razumljene in prakticirane filozofije – napelje na brezpogojno opuščanje *dokse* in enako brezpogojen prehod na *episteme*. Ta prehod poteka predvsem tako, da mora biti *doksa*, pa naj bo sicer sama po sebi resnična, obrazložena, mora postati enoznačna, določljiva s stavkom, za katerega se načelno vedno in vsakomur zmore dati razlog in obrazloženje. Šele s tem *doksa* zadobi obstojnost, stalnost in trajnost. To se posebno kaže v klasični določitvi, ki jo najdemo v *Menonu* 97e:

> Tudi resnična mnenja [*doksai*] so namreč lepa zadeva, kolikor časa ostanejo (na mestu) in naredijo vse dobro. Toda nočejo (tu) ostati dolgo časa, temveč bežijo iz človekove duše, tako da niso dosti vredna, dokler jih ne privežemo z razumevanjem vzroka.[16]

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[16] Platon (2006): *Zbrana dela I.* Str. 911.

Doksa, če je zares pravilna, ostaja vseskozi zgolj neka »zadeva brez razloga« (alogon pragma) in v toliko, kakor utrdi Platon v *Simpoziju* 202a, nikoli in nikakor ne more biti s spoznanjem, znanjem ter znanostjo (*episteme*). *Logos* v pomenu »razloga« – torej to, kar bo v latinskem jeziku kasneje poimenovano z *ratio*, v nemščini *Grund* – napravlja bistveno razliko med *dokso* in *episteme*. On je v svojem bistvu, kot smo že rekli, spoj in skup treh momentov: kot prvo trajnosti, obstojnosti in zanesljivosti[17], kot drugo občosti, dobljene z vzporejanjem množstva drugih in ustanavljanjem enakosti, istosti in razlike napram tem drugim, ter kot tretje spontane, tj. svobodne in samolastne dejavnosti spoznavajoče duše. Samo tam, kjer so v razlogu zbrani vsi trije njegovi bistveni konstitutivni momenti, se lahko zares govori o znanju in znanosti. In samo ta, ki si povsod prizadeva za takšno razložno in obrazložljivo znanje, se popolnoma po pravici sme imenovati za filozofa, medtem ko so vsi ostali zgolj filodoksi – kakor je zatrjeno na koncu pete knjige *Politeie* (480a), na mestu pravega izvora tradicionalne formule, ki smo jo že srečali pri Kantu. Pot samorazumevanja filozofije je bila s tem za nadaljnja stoletja in tisočletja jasno in nevprašljivo začrtana.

Čeravno bi se lahko zdelo, da je Platon na ta način bistvo svoje filozofije, kakor tudi filozofije nasploh, brez zadržka podvrgel imperativu brezpogojne opustitve *dokse* ter zasledovanju *logosa* kot razloga in na njem utemeljeni znanosti, pri Platonu vseeno najdemo nekaj na oko nevpadljivih, a pomembnih mest, ki nas pozivajo k opreznosti. Predvsem tam, kjer Platon govori o tistem najvišem – o ideji dobrega, o naravi samega lepega ali pa o »stvari sami« – ne dopušča poudarka, da je to najvišje ne samo na drugi strani biti, oz. bivajočega, temveč, da je hkrati nad vsakim *logosom* in vsako *episteme*. Še več, na osrednjih mestih *Politeie*, kjer ob pomoči treh slavnih prispodob poskuša vsaj nekoliko približati najvišjo in prvo izmed idej, brez obotavljanja za svoj odnos do te ideje uporablja izraze kot »zdi se mi«, »menim«, »po mojem mnenju«, ali pa »to, kar se mi kaže«, v enem primeru celo »to, kar upam«, z dodatkom, da samo bog ve, ali je to resnično ali ne.[18] Na enak način v *Sedmem pismu*, kjer govori o »stvari sami«, izrecno poudari njeno popolno individualnost, edinstvenost ter enkratnost, čemur sicer po njegovem splošnem nauku ne bi moglo ustrezati spoznanje po poti pojma in razloga, temveč prej ravno sama *doksa*, za katero je na primer že Natorp pokazal, da je pri Platonu razumljena kot neka vrsta »nenadne razsvetljenosti«[19]. Nadalje, v slavni prispodobi o daljici je celotno območje *dokse* razdeljeno na slikovno domnevanje (eikasia) in prepričanje, vero (pistis). Slednja bo, čeravno označena kot zgolj konstitutivni moment *dokse*, igrala pomembno, ne-

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[17] Stalnost, obstojnost in nespremenljivost pravilne *dokse* bo kasneje pri Aristotelu zadostni razlog za nasprotovanje njeni razliki napram znanju. Prim. Magna moralia, II. vi. 1201b5–7: οὐθὲν γὰρ διαφέρει δόξαν εἶναι ἢ ἐπιστήμην· εἰ γὰρ ἔσται ἡ δόξα σφοδρα τῷ βέβαιον εἶναι καὶ ἀμετάπειστον, οὐθὲν διοίσει τῆς ἐπιστήμης . Prim. podobno, čeravno bolj umerjeno formulacijo v vzporednem tekstu Ethica Nicomachea, VII. 3. 1146b24 itd.

[18] Mesta navedkov so navedena v avtorjevem komentarju: Barbarić, D. (1995): *Ideja dobra*. Zagreb. Str. 281 in dalje.

[19] Natorp, P. (1994): *Platos Ideenlehre*. Str. 493 in dalje.

dvomno pozitivno vlogo v Platonovih podrobnejših razlagah samega dobrega in ideje dobrega[20], kakor je med drugim tudi pri velikih predhodnikih, predvsem pri Parmenidu in Heraklitu, ena izmed osnovnih značilnosti pravega filozofskega odnosa do resnice in tistega najvišjega.

Bi se potemtakem ideja znanosti in znanstvene filozofije, za katero Husserl v uvodnem navedku tega članka trdi, da v celotnem novoveškem življenju ni silneje in bolj nezadržno prodirajoče ideje, lahko z vso pravico sklicevala na Platona? Nedvomno bi se na prvi pogled na to vprašanje moralo odgovoriti pritrdilno. Zagotovo ni slučaj, da se Platona že tisočletja razume ter tolmači kot utemeljitelja filozofskega idealizma, kot tudi ni brez temelja trditev, da se ga od Nietzscheja dalje imenuje za očeta metafizike. Kljub temu pa bi se na osnovi teh nekaj zadnjih, na tem mestu pomanjkljivo razvitih izpeljav, na vprašanje lahko deloma odgovorilo nikalno, saj se zdi, da je Platon *dokso* na koncu vendarle pustil v določeni dvoumnosti in da še zlasti v kasnejšem obdobju svojega filozofiranja ni stremel po njeni popolni ukinitvi in prevladanju. Še več, zdi se, da je sámo dvoumnost in večpomenskost, svobodo iskanja in neodločnosti ter v toliko vsekozi odprto možnost drugega in drugačnega prepoznal kot njeno najgloblje bistvo. Kot tako jo je na nek način videl – kot je menil Natorp[21] – kot zvesto podobo vprašujočega, iščočega, filozofirajočega življenja v tistem velikem »med«, v vmesnosti med bogovi in ljudmi, v vmesnosti popolne vednosti in popolne nevednosti, kamor je v *Simpoziju* na tako veličasten način umestil z demonskim erosom prežetega in vodenega filozofa. Morebiti so prav to želele namigniti neobičajne etimologije v *Kratilu* 420b, po katerih *doksa* ni nič drugega kakor neka vrsta »lova« in »lokostrelstva«[22]. *Doksa* bi potemtakem bila živa, nedoločna napetost spraševanja, iskanja in razmišljanja, odprtost pričakovanja, ki predhaja vsak določen odgovor, stavek, sklep in izjavo.

* * *

Je zgoraj izpeljano več kot očitno relativiziranje zdavnaj utrjenega in uhojenega razumevanja Platona in njegovega odnosa do *dokse* na kakršenkoli način prepričljivo? Ali ni vendarle povsem nedvomno, da je Platon celoto običajne človeške eksistence v okrožju *dokse* tako dramatično ter pretresljivo poistovetil z življenjem v »votlini«? Kakor se tudi ne da oporekati, da je cilj in namen celokupnega filozofiranja izrecno našel v tem, da se čim prej »odide od tod«? Ali ni »nadnebeški kraj« to, k čemur neprenehoma stremi resnični filozof, bodisi z mišljenjem bodisi z božanskim zanosom, in edino, kamor vselej usmerja svoj pogled? Pred vsakim dokončnim odgovorom bi bilo potrebno nujno vztrajati pri našem vodilnem vprašanju »kaj je *doksa*« in v iskanju odgovora še enkrat narediti nujen korak nazaj nasproti mislecu, ki

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[20] Barbarić, D. (1995): *Ideja dobra.* Zagreb. Str. 293 in dalje.

[21] Natorp, P. (1994): *Platos Ideenlehre.*. Str. 491 in dalje.

[22] Prim. ibid. Str. 483, op. 1.

se ga lahko pred vsemi ostalimi, vsekakor še pred samim Platonom, označi za pravega začetnika filozofiranja, popolnoma zoperstavljenega *doksi* in usmerjenega izključno k *logosu*, umu, znanju ter znanosti.

Govorimo seveda o Parmenidu. Ali ni prav on učil popolno nasprotnost »nedrhteče srce lepo zaokrožene resnice«[23] na eni strani, na drugi strani pa mnenja (doksas) smrtnih ljudi? Mar niso slednja pri njem enoznačno razglašena kot ta, v katerih »ni resnične zanesljivosti«[24]? Potrebno je dodati, da tudi Parmenid sam s tem le do skrajnih posledic izpelje neposredno predhajajoče izročilo zgodnjih »grških razsvetljencev«, med katerimi so pomembni predstavniki na primer začetnik zgodovinopisja Hekataj ali začetnik medicine Alkmajon ali pa še najbolj neposredni predhodnik Parmenida, oster in neizprosen kritik vse mitsko zasnovane religije Ksenofan, s svojim ostrim temeljnim rekom:

> … in seveda ni nihče nikoli videl jasno
> in nihče ne bo nikoli vedel, kako je z bogovi in vsemi stvarmi,
> o katerih govorim; tudi če bi kdo govoril na dovršen način,
> sam še vedno ne bi vedel; vsem je dano (zgolj) mnenje.[25]

Držeč se običajnega načina prevajanja smo Ksenofanovo besedo δόκος prevedli kot »mnenje«. Kaj je torej na tem mestu δόκος? In kaj je, nadalje, na splošno δόξα pri Parmenidu? Jasno je, da bi zadovoljiv odgovor zahteval temeljito interpretacijo vseh ohranjenih izrazov obeh mislecev, vendar pa takšen korak na tem mestu ni mogoč. Namesto tega naj se zadovoljimo z nekaj jezikovnimi opazkami, saj je pozorno prisluhniti prikriti zgodovini besed, v katerih je izgovorjen tisti filozofski smisel ter pomen, kateremu smo vseskozi na sledi, dobrodošla priprava in več kot potrebna pomoč v poslu mišljenja.

Pomen besede δόξα v smislu človekovega »nazora«, »mnenja«, »ocenjevanja« in »presojanja« je razmeroma pozen, zgodovinsko nastopi šele po Homerju in še tudi takrat je z začetka povsem nevtralen glede možne resničnosti ali lažnosti. Šele nadaljnji razvoj besede vodi v smer »golega mnenja« kot tistega, kar je gledano s stališča »resnice« vedno po nujnosti napačno, pomanjkljivo in nezadostno.

Toda, izvorno beseda ne poimenuje ničesar drugega kot čisto odprtost proti prihajajočemu času, proti »bodočnosti«, v smislu tega, kar prinese in lahko prinese čas, in torej pomeni to, kar bi morda najprimerneje poimenovali »pričakovanje«, ponekod celo »upanje«.

Dalje v razumevanju nas lahko povede napotek, da beseda izvira iz glagola δέχομαι oziroma δέκομαι, ki najprej pomeni »prejeti«, »dobiti«, »sprejeti ponujeno« in to iz-

[23] DK 28 B 1 29 (Sextus Empiricus, Adv. math. VII 111). [Slovenski prevodi predsokratikov so povzeti po *Fragmenti predsokratikov* [ur. Kocijančič, G.], Ljubljana: Študentska založba (2012) (op. prev.).]

[24] DK 28 B 1 30 (Sextus Empiricus, Adv. math. VII 112).

[25] DK 21 B 34 (Sextus Empiricus, Adv. math. VII 49).

vorno povsem neodvisno od tega, ali je to ponujeno neka stvar, dogodek, delo, usoda ali beseda, kot na primer v dvajsetem spevu *Odiseje* (verz 271) Antinos poziva Ahajce, da sprejmejo Telemahovo besedo, pa naj bo še tako težko (καὶ χαλεπόν περ ἐόντα δεχώμεϑα μύϑον). V skladu s tem glagol poleg vsega pomeni tudi »pozdraviti«, »pričakati z dobrodošlico«.

Že sam koren obeh besed, indoevropsko *dek-, je povsem sodeč pomenil oboje hkrati, namreč prejeti in pozdraviti. Sorodne in iz istega korena izvirajoče besede *decet*, *decus* in *dignus* kažejo, da je prejeto in prevzeto izkušeno skupaj in kot tisto vredno, kot tudi tisto, kar se poda, kar se spodobi, in je v toliko okras, nakit, kakor je sicer v kasnejšem antično grškem jeziku δόξα vse bolj sprejemala pomen »ugleda«, »cenjenosti« in »časti«.

Za nas je posebno pomembno spoznanje, da iz istega korena *dek- izvira tudi staroslovanski glagol desiti, ki izvorno pomeni najti, zalotiti, izpeljano – kaže da najbolj v južnoslovanskih jezikih – pa tudi zgoditi se in hkrati srečati. V izpeljankah *des* v pomenu dosojene sreče (v smislu lat. fatum) ter *udes* v pomenu usode, nesreče je nadalje predvsem neko srečanje, nato naklonjeno sprejemanje srečljivega in na koncu njegovo ohranjanje in varovanje. V skladu s tem daljni izpeljani glagol *udesiti* pomeni predvsem spraviti v red, okrasiti, pridevnik *udesan* pa pomeni *primeren*, *skladen*.

Naj se na tem mestu zaustavimo in se zadržimo vsakršnega na tej osnovi izrečenega zaključka. Blodenje po labirintu etimologije je mamljiva in prikupna, a nič manj zapeljiva zabava. Potrebno je mnogo previdnosti, pazljivosti in premišljene treznosti, da bi od tod steklo primerno vodilo za mišljenje.

Vprašanje o tem, kaj je *doksa*, je ostalo neodgovorjeno, čeprav bi nam šele odgovor na to vprašanje lahko pomagal pri primernem odnosu do čvrsto utrjenega prepričanja, ki že od davno vodi tako filozofijo kot tudi vse bistvene poti naše zgodovine, prepričanja, da »ni ideje, ki silneje in bolj nezadržno prodira kot ideja znanosti«. Morda pa smo že naredili ne tako neznaten korak in prispeli do prepričanja, da nam na tem mestu na koncu ne gre za nič drugega kot za prepričanje.

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PSIHOLOŠKA ŠTUDIJA

PSYCHOLOGY STUDY

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UPORABA PREVODNOSTI KOŽE PRI RAZISKOVANJU ČUSTEV

39-52

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::POVZETEK

Raziskovanje čustev postaja vse bolj interdisciplinarno in sega tudi na področje fiziologije. Ena izmed obetajočih (psiho)fizioloških mer, ki je postala z razvojem tehnologije lažje dostopna, je prevodnost kože. Njena prednost oz. uporabnost je v tem, da odraža nezavedne odzive, saj ni pod zavestno kontrolo. Tako je lahko dober pokazatelj čustvenega dogajanja. Ker na prevodnost kože vpliva veliko različnih nevrofizioloških procesov, ne le čustvovanje, je raziskovanje in interpretiranje prevodnosti kože izjemno kompleksno. Na podlagi analize raziskav naredimo celovit pregled področja, izpostavimo ključna vprašanja in izzive, ki se pojavljajo pri takšnem raziskovanju, ter izpeljemo smernice preučevanja prevodnosti kože ob čustvenem dogajanju.

Ključne besede: prevodnost kože, galvanski upor kože, elektrodermalna reakcija kože, raziskovanje čustev, psihofiziologija

ABSTRACT

USING SKIN CONDUCTANCE IN EMOTION RESEARCH
Emotion research is becoming increasingly interdisciplinary and extends to the field of physiology. One of the promising (psycho)physiological measures, which has become more accessible with the development of technology, is skin conductance. Its advantage is that it reflects unconscious responses as it is not under conscious control. As such it can be a good indicator of emotional activity. Because skin conductance is influenced by many different neurophysiological processes, not just emotion, research and interpretation of the skin conductance response are complex. Based on literature review, we make a comprehensive overview of the area, highlight the key issues and challenges that arise in such research, and derive the guidelines for the use of skin conductance in emotion research.

Key words: skin conductance, galvanic skin response, electrodermal activity, emotion research, psychophysiology

::UVOD[1]

Čustva so vedno povezana z določenim fiziološkim vzburjenjem. Damasio (2008) piše, da se ob čustvih zgodi prava telesna revolucija. Te procese, spremembe v srčnem utripu, delovanju mišic, potenju, izločanju hormonov ipd., je mogoče s sodobnimi merskimi pripomočki izmeriti. Tako je raziskovanje čustev in s tem povezane fiziologije postalo zanimivo ne samo znanosti, ampak tudi globalnemu svetu potrošništva, storitev in industrije. Preučuje se npr. spremljanje čustvenih izrazov za varnejšo vožnjo (Gao, Yűce in Thiran, 2014), za razumevanje potrošniškega vedenja in odločanja za nakup (npr. The Corporate Executive Board Company, 2013), za pridobivanje povratnih informacij v medijskih raziskavah (npr. Soleymani, Asghari-Esfeden in Pantic, 2014), poleg tega pa tudi za spremljanje zdravstvenega stanja, kot npr. preprečevanja čustvenega hranjenja (Carroll et al., 2013), in v izobraževalne namene (npr. Altrabsheh, Cocea in Fallahkhair, 2015). Razumevanje čustev in s tem povezanih telesnih odzivov je tako postalo pomembno raziskovalno področje.

Rezaei (2013) je z metaanalizo raziskav potrdila, da so nekatere fiziološke mere boljši kazalniki čustvenega dogajanja od drugih. Šest fizioloških mer, med njimi tudi prevodnost kože, je pokazalo najmočnejšo povezanost s čustvenim stanjem posameznika. Ideja, da prevodnost kože odraža čustvene reakcije, pa ni nova, ampak sega že v čas Junga. Jung je prevodnost kože uporabil kot del asociacijske preizkušnje, s katero je odkrival nezavedne komplekse, pred njim pa so psihologi prevodnost kože uporabljali za merjenje reakcij na senzorne dražljaje (Lamovec 1991). Do danes je postala prevodnost kože precej razširjena in pogosto uporabljena fiziološka mera, Boucsein (2014) jo označi celo kot najbolj popularno mero v raziskovanju človeških psihofizioloških pojavov. Njena prednost oz. uporabnost je v tem, da odraža nezavedne odzive, saj ni pod zavestno kontrolo. Izpostaviti pa moramo, da je razumevanje in interpretiranje odzivov prevodnosti kože, kakor tudi področje raziskovanja psihofiziologije nasploh, izjemno kompeksno in zahtevno. Na prevodnost kože namreč vpliva mnogo različnih nevrofizioloških procesov (npr. termoregulacija, način dihanja, povečan mišični tonus itd.) in ne le miselna aktivnost ali čustveno vzburjenje (Ham in Tronick 2009; Lamovec 1991). Zato v nadaljevanju naredimo na podlagi analize raziskav celovit pregled področja, izpostavimo ključna vprašanja in izzive, ki se pojavljajo pri takšnem raziskovanju, ter izpeljemo smernice preučevanja prevodnosti kože ob čustvenem dogajanju.

::VZBURJENOST IN DELOVANJE ŽIVČNEGA SISTEMA

Telesna vzburjenost je neposredno povezana z delovanjem avtonomnega živčnega sistema (AŽS). AŽS je najpomembnejši regulacijski sistem, saj uravnava delovanje življenjsko pomembnih funkcij organizma: kardiovaskularnih, prebavnih, elek-

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[1] Prispevek je nastal na podlagi doktorske naloge *Fiziološke mere čustev in njihov pomen v procesu relacijske zakonske in družinske terapije.*

trodermalnih, respiratornih, endokrinih in eksokrinih. Osnovno delovanje AŽS je mogoče opisati s tremi regulatornimi funkcijami (Levenson, 2003):
1. ohranjanje optimalnega in stabilnega notranjega okolja, tj. homeostaze;
2. aktiviranje telesnih sistemov, ki omogočajo aktivnost in odgovor na spremembe;
3. deaktiviranje telesnih sistemov, ko aktivnost ni več potrebna.

AŽS vsebuje živčna vlakna, ki potekajo od možganskega debla in vrha hrbtenjače do notranjih organov telesa. Sestavljata ga dve veji, simpatični živčni sistem (SŽS), ki mobilizira energijo organizma in ga pripravlja na akcijo, ter parasimpatični živčni sistem (PŽS), ki služi ohranjanju energije in ki upočasnjuje telesne reakcije (Hayes in Orrell, 1998; Lamovec, 1991; Tušak in Tušak, 2009). Stone (2008) SŽS na kratko poimenuje »fight or flight« (boj ali beg reakcija), PŽS pa »rest and digest« (počitek in prebava). Še nedolgo je veljalo prepričanje, da je delovanje simpatika in parasimpatika izključujoče oz. antagonistično – če se aktivira en, se delovanje drugega zmanjša in obratno. S Porgesovo polivagalno teorijo (Porges, 1995, 2001, 2007) in Berntsovim pojmovanjem AŽS kot dvodimenzionalnega prostora (Berntson, Cacioppo in Quigley 1991; Berntson, Cacioppo in Quigley 1993a; Berntson et al. 1994) se je to razumevanje predrugačilo. Danes vemo, da lahko pride tudi do koaktivacije, ko delujeta oba sistema istočasno in sinergistično. To npr. pomeni, da bo prišlo do povečanega vzburjenja AŽS, vendar bo le-to imelo majhen učinek na srce, saj bo učinek SŽS omejen z aktivnostjo PŽS (Alm, 2004). Poleg tega povzroča delovanje SŽS vzbujevalne učinke v nekaterih organih in zaviralne v drugih, podobno kakor PŽS povzroča bodisi vzdraženje bodisi inhibicijo delovanja specifičnega organa. Vedno pa se delovanje obeh vej dopolnjuje in usklajuje, saj je cilj vzdrževanje (telesne) homeostaze (Lamovec, 1991; Zafošnik, 2007).

Večinoma je težko določiti vpliv posamezne veje avtonomnega živčnega sistema na fiziološke procese, saj, kot omenjeno, posamezen organ oživčujeta tako simpatik kot parasimpatik (Cacioppo, Berntson, Larsen, Poehlmann in Ito, 2008). Vseeno pa za nekatere organe vemo, da jih oživčuje le SŽS, to so potne žleze, periferne žile in adrenalne žleze. Prevodnost kože je tako za razliko od večine drugih fizioloških mer izključno pod vplivom simpatičnega živčnega sistema, zato velja za indikator vzburjenja AŽS (Christie in Friedman, 2004; Dawson, Schell in Filion, 2007; Ham in Tronick, 2009; Lamovec, 1991; Loving, Heffner in Kiecolt - Glaser, 2006; Marci et al., 2007; Mendes, 2009; Sequeira et al., 2009; Tušak in Tušak, 2009). Veliko avtorjev soglaša, da je v ta namen prevodnost kože najboljše merilo (npr. Cacioppo et al., 2008; Fernández et al., 2012; Lamovec, 1991; Wiens, Mezzacappa in Katkin, 2000).

::MERJENJE PREVODNOSTI KOŽE

V povezavi z merjenjem električne aktivnosti kože so se skozi zgodovino uveljavili različni izrazi. Tarchanoff je bil eden prvih, ki je opazil šibke električne tokove v telesu, zato so po njem imenovali »učinek Tarchanoffa« (Lamovec, 1991). Kasneje

se je uveljavil termin psihogalvanski refleks oz. galvanski upor kože (GSR – ang. »galvanic skin response«), v uporabi pa sta tudi izraza prevodnost kože (SC – ang. »scin conductance«) in elektrodermalna reakcija kože (EDA – ang. »electrodermal activity«). V tem članku bomo uporabljali slednja dva.

V začetku 19. stoletja so ugotovili, da lahko, če na kožo namestimo dve elektrodi, med njima zaznamo šibke električne tokove. Na ta način so merili napetostne potenciale na koži - spremembo kožnega potenciala med dvema točkama, ki je rezultat sprememb potencialov proizvedenega znoja. Ker je potekalo merjenje elektrodermalne aktivnosti brez zunanjih vzbujalnih električnih tokov, se ta način imenuje endosomatska metoda (Geršak, 2013; Lamovec, 1991). Kasneje so električno aktivnost kože preizkušali tako, da so priključili dodatni vir enosmernega električnega toka, s čimer so lahko merili spremembe v prevodnosti oz. v njeni recipročni vrednosti - uporu kože. Kadar smo v stanju vzburjenja ali stresa, se namreč bolj potimo, mokra koža pa postane boljši prevodnik, ker se zmanjša njen upor. Ta način merjenja se imenuje eksosomatska metoda (Geršak, 2013; Hayes in Orrell, 1998; Lamovec, 1991). Tako prevodnost kože kot kožni potencial sta rezultat istega fiziološkega procesa, to je aktivnosti žlez znojnic (Geršak, 2013). Večja prevodnost kože pa je povezana z večjo aktivnostjo AŽS (Christie in Friedman, 2004; Dawson et al., 2007; Fernández et al., 2012; Tušak in Tušak, 2009; Wiens et al., 2000).

Kadar proučujemo elektrodermalno aktivnost kože ob določenem dražljaju, je uporabna mera fazna vrednost oz. odziv (ang. »response«). Kadar pa merimo spremembe EDA brez specifičnega stimulusa ali v daljših časovnih obdobjih (npr. minutah namesto sekundah), je uporabnejša mera tonična vrednost oz. raven (ang. »level«) (Mendes, 2009). Glede na dve metodi merjenja in dva načina vrednotenja prevodnosti kože tako ločimo štiri merske količine:

Tabela 1. Merske količine prevodnosti kože

	EKSOSOMATSKA METODA	**ENDOSOMATSKA METODA**
ODZIV	odziv prevodnosti kože - SCR (ang. »skin conductance response«)	odziv kožnega potenciala - SPR (ang. »skin potential response«)
RAVEN	raven prevodnosti kože - SCL (ang. »skin conductance level«)	raven kožnega potenciala - SPL (ang. »skin potential level«)

::IZZIVI IN SMERNICE PRI MERJENJU PREVODNOSTI KOŽE

Žleze znojnice so razširjene po vsem telesu, vendar so najgosteje razporejene na rokah, podplatih in čelu (Ham in Tronick, 2009; Loving et al., 2006; Mendes, 2009). Kot mesto merjenja se sicer najpogosteje uporabljajo dlan in prsti, pri čemer Mendes (2009) priporoča, da so senzorji nameščeni na sosednja prsta (2. in 3. prst ali 4. in 5. prst), zato da so oživčeni z istim živcem. Geršak (2013) dodaja, naj bodo

senzorji na zadnjih členkih prstov. Če morajo udeleženci pri raziskavi uporabljati obe roki, kot npr. pri tipkovnici, je zaradi premikanja prstov prevodnost kože bolje meriti na dlaneh. V primeru, da bi morali udeleženci intenzivno uporabljati obe roki, npr. v interakciji z dejanskimi objekti v realnem okolju, pa je smiselno senzorje pritrditi na notranjo stran podplatov, in sicer na sredini, kjer poteka iztezalka palca (Dawson et al., 2007). Van Dooren, de Vries in Janssen (2012) so na podlagi primerjave 16 mest na telesu zaključili, da so podplati in ramena najboljša alternativa merjenju na prstih, če želimo spremljati odzive, ki odražajo čustveno vznemirjenje.

Glede merjenja na dominantni oz. nedominantni roki so izsledki raziskav dvoumni, mnenja pa nasprotujoča (Dawson et al., 2007). Običajno se prevodnost kože meri na nedominantni roki, novejša študija (Picard, Fedor in Ayzenberg, 2016) pa dokazuje, da obstaja pri večini ljudi (rahla) asimetričnost vzburjenosti in posledično prevodnosti kože. Omenjena raziskava je pomembna tudi zato, ker je pokazala, da pri 6-ih udeležencih (od 25-ih), ki so imeli najbolj izrazito asimetrijo vzburjenja, klasično merjenje na nedominantni roki ne bi pokazalo vzburjenosti, medtem ko so meritve na njihovi dominantni roki pokazale precejšnje spremembe v prevodnosti kože. Ker je raziskava in predlagana teorija Picardove in ostalih novejša, predvidevamo, da bo teorija multiplega vzburjenja (ang. »multiple arousal theory«) v prihodnjih letih predmet mnogih raziskav.

Pomembno vprašanje je tudi, katere spremembe v prevodnosti kože se štejejo kot relevantne? Vsaka sprememba, ki se zgodi v 1-4 sekundah po dražljaju, se šteje kot odziv na ta dražljaj. Vendar obstajajo tudi spontane spremembe v EDA, in sicer približno 1-3 na minuto, ki se zgodijo brez kakršnegakoli očitnega dražljaja (Dawson et al., 2007; Mendes, 2009). Ker na prevodnost kože vplivajo številni dejavniki kot npr. globok (v)izdih, premikanje, spomini, čustva, prebava (Dawson et al., 2007; Laird in Lacasse, 2014), smeh (Marci, Moran in Orr, 2004) in celo odprtje oči[2] (Barry, Clarke in Johnstone, 2011), lahko pojav spontanih sprememb najbolje opazujemo v globokem spanju (Picard, 2011).

Pri prevodnosti kože je potrebno ločevati med nivojem (ravnjo) in odzivom, pri čemer si lahko za razumevanje pomagamo s spodnjim grafom (slika 1). Nivo med 50. in 52. minuto je okoli 0,45 µS (mikrosiemens), medtem ko je odziv pri 52. minuti cca. 0,05 µS.

Nivo prevodnosti kože variira od posameznika do posameznika, pri nekaterih ljudeh določen (psihološki) dražljaj povzroči velike spremembe, pri drugih pa zanemarljive ali celo nične, kot v primeru neodzivnih ljudi (ang. »nonresponders«). Raziskave kažejo, da je to lahko celo indikator psihopatologije, saj je neodzivnih približno 50% ljudi s shizofrenijo, med tem ko je v splošni populaciji teh približno 10% (Dawson et al., 2007). Da je kompleksnost še večja, je za fiziologijo značilna velika variabilnost fizioloških parametrov iste osebe ob različnih trenutkih in v različnih

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[2] Raziskava je pokazala, da se prevodnost kože statistično pomembno spremeni ob prehodu iz stanja zaprtih oči v odprte (Barry, Clarke in Johnstone, 2011).

psiholoških stanjih. Zato se spremembe načeloma primerja s stabilnim začetnim stanjem, za katerega je smiselno, da traja vsaj 2-4 minute (Geršak, 2013).

Slika 1. Sprememba v EDA, ki ni posledica očitnega čustvenega vzroka (Stepišnik Perdih, 2016)
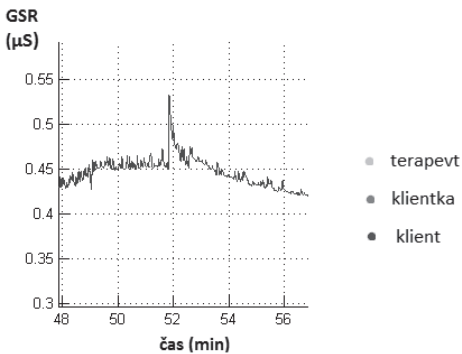
V večini raziskav se pri analizi signalov prevodnosti kože uporablja odziv in ne raven, pri čemer velja, da je amplituda odziva reakcija na nek dražljaj. Pri tem je pomembno vprašanje in stvar presoje, kolikšno amplitudo vzeti kot odziv na dražljaj. V raziskavah je zaslediti razpon od 0,01 µS do 1,0 µS, kar je najpogosteje pogojeno s preciznostjo merilnika. Večina raziskav sicer upošteva spremembe, večje od 0,05 µS (Clément in Duvallet, 2010). V določenih primerih pa je vseeno bolj smiselno upoštevati raven oz. nivo prevodnosti kože, in sicer takrat, kadar merimo spremembe EDA brez specifičnega stimulusa ali v daljših časovnih obdobjih (npr. minutah). Kaj lahko se namreč zgodi, da je amplituda drugega vala (odziva) popačena, ker se še ni iztekel čas povrnitve prvega vala, zato odziv ne bo odražal dejanske spremembe (slika 2). Na tem mestu moramo omeniti še habituacijo, ki ima za posledico manjši odziv na poznane dražljaje (Dawson et al., 2007).

Slika 2. Grafični prikaz glavnih komponent EDA odziva (povzeto po Dawson et al., 2007)
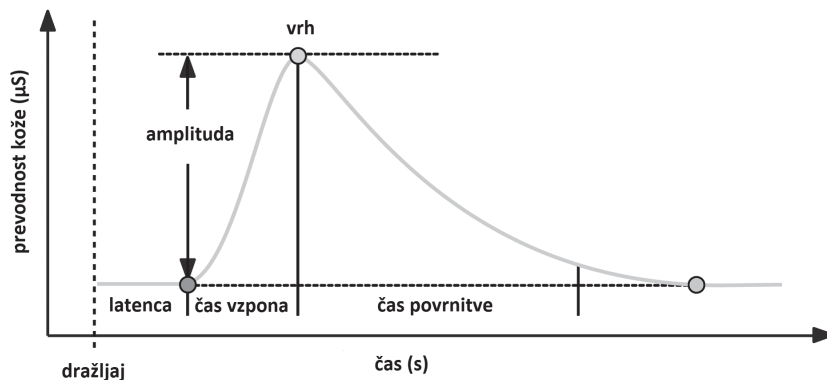
V raziskavah o prevodnosti kože je moč zaslediti še eno ključno vprašanje, in si-
cer izbor merilne naprave. Raziskovalci morajo pogosto iskati ravnotežje med na-
tančnostjo in prenosljivostjo naprav pa tudi dostopnostjo. Slabost večjih, sicer po-
gosto preciznejših naprav, je njihova okornost (žice, elektrode, napajalniki) in ne-
prenosljivost. To občutno vpliva na zaznavanje ter psihofizično stanje merjenca
(merilna anksioznost) in s tem na vrednost zbranih podatkov. Prav tako pa tudi po-
raja vprašanje zunanje veljavnosti rezultatov. Na drugi strani obstajajo naprave, ki
so neinvazivne, majhne, ergonomične in prenosne, kar pomeni, da omogočajo mer-
jenje v realnih razmerah, zunaj laboratorija, vendar so pogosto manj precizne. Ger-
šak (2013) je ob pregledu enostavnih prenosnih merilnikov prevodnosti kože ugo-
tovil, da je njihova običajna slabost relativna nerobustnost in nezanesljivost zunaj
laboratorijev - predvsem glede pritrditve elektrod. Pri enostavnih merilnikih se na-
mreč namesto mokrih elektrod, ki omogočajo boljši stik med kožo in merilnikom,
večinoma uporabljajo suhe elektrode v obliki nerjavečega jekla ali drugega prevo-
dnega materiala. Omejitev predstavlja tudi majhna ločljivost pretvornikov, kar ne
omogočajo optimalne obdelave izmerjenih vrednosti, predvsem v primeru ločeva-
nja signala prevodnosti kože na nivo in odziv. Kljub temu pa so se nekateri enostav-
ni merilniki, kot npr. SenseWear, izkazali uporabni tudi zunaj kontroliranih labora-
torijskih razmer, npr. v študijah obremenjenosti zračnih kontrolorjev prometa, re-
habilitaciji, psiholoških testih pa tudi v industriji računalniških igric ipd (ibid). Že
omenjeni SenseWear se je večinoma sicer uporabljal v raziskavah o gibanju oz. tele-
sni aktivnosti, vendar so z njim raziskovali tudi fiziološke odzive pri gasilcih (Del
Sal et al., 2009), doživljanje stresa učencev v šoli (Geršak, Geršak in Drnovšek,
2012) ter merili fiziološke odzive ob čustvenem vzburjenju (Lisetti in Nasoz, 2004).

::PREVODNOST KOŽE V RAZISKAVAH ČUSTEV

Pri pregledu raziskav so Marci et al. (2007) ugotovili, da je bila prevodnost kože
najbolj občutljiva fiziološka mera čustvene odzivnosti oz. vznemirjenosti. Tako ni
presenetljivo, da je prevodnost kože ena najpogosteje uporabljenih fizioloških mer
pri raziskovanju čustev. Mnogi raziskovalci so pričakovali, da bodo lahko pri različ-
nih čustvih opazili različne vzorce prevodnosti kože (Lamovec, 1991). Domnevali
so tudi, da se pri mirnih čustvih, kot so potrtost, žalost in zadovoljstvo, aktivira pa-
rasimpatični živčni sistem, pri aktivnih čustvih, kot je jeza, strah in navdušenje, pa
simpatični živčni sistem (Hayes in Orrell, 1998). Prevodnost kože kot mera, ki je
izključno pod vplivom simpatičnega živčnega sistema (Ham in Tronick, 2009; La-
movec, 1991; Loving et al., 2006), bi se tako morala ob jezi, strahu in presenečenju
povečati, ob potrtosti, žalosti in zadovoljstvu pa zmanjšati. Vendar kot smo že ome-
nili, delovanje SŽS in PŽS ni nujno izključujoče in tako mnogo raziskav (npr. Co-
dispoti, Mazzetti in Bradley, 2009; Dawson et al., 2007; Robinson, Rogalin in
Smith-Lovin, 2004) kaže, da prevodnost kože ne razločuje med čustvi, ampak na-
kazuje zgolj emocionalno vzdraženost, torej prisotnost kateregakoli čustva.

To prikazuje tudi spodnja slika, kjer lahko vidimo, da se prevodnost kože ob prijetnih in neprijetnih čustvih poveča glede na nevtralno stanje, med odzivom na prijetna in neprijetna čustva pa skorajda ni razlike (slika 3). Vseeno lahko zaključimo, da EDA odraža intenziteto čustvenega doživetja, torej intenzivnejše kot je doživetje, večji je odziv EDA (Figner in Murphy, 2010).

Slika 3. Prevodnost kože pri čustveno prijetnem, neprijetnem in nevtralnem stimulusu (Bradley, 2000; Bradley in Lang, 2007)
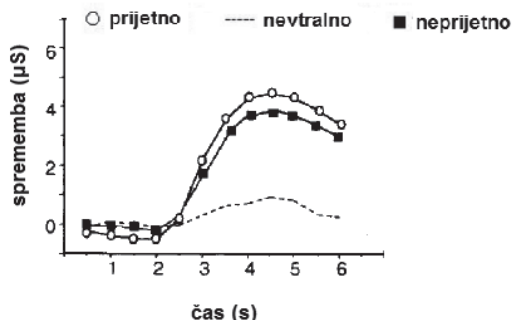
::IZZIVI IN SMERNICE PRI MERJENJU ČUSTEV

Če želimo raziskovati prevodnost kože v povezavi s čustvovanjem, se moramo dotakniti tudi samega merjenja čustev. Na tem mestu želimo poudariti, da čeprav navadno govorimo o čustvenih stanjih, so to le redko »stabilna« stanja, ampak prej nenehno spreminjajoči se procesi (Scherer, 2005). Čustvene reakcije niso izolirani in »čisti« dogodki, saj lahko doživljamo drugo čustvo, še preden prvo izzveni. Ker pravzaprav ne obstaja noben kriterij za določanje, koliko časa traja čustvo, je le-to težko oceniti (Rottenberg, Ray in Gross, 2007). Nekateri čustveni odzivi lahko trajajo minute, drugi ure, v določenih psihopatoloških stanjih tudi dneve in mesece, kot npr. pri motnjah razpoloženja (Alonso-Arbiol et al., 2011). Čustva tudi ne izzvenijo takoj, ko izgine razlog za to (Gard in Kring, 2007).

Prav tako je potrebno razlikovati med konceptoma čustvenega vzburjenja (ang. »arousal«) in čustvene intenzivnosti (ang. »intensity«). Pogosto se ju zamenjuje oz. enači. Razliko lahko nazorno pojasnimo na primeru depresije – ob hudi depresiji (intenziteta) posameznik komaj vstane iz postelje (nizko vzburjenje). To pomeni, da je stopnja intenzivnosti depresije v obratnem sorazmerju s stopnjo vzburjenja, kar dokazuje, da sta to dva različna teoretična konstrukta (Picard et al., 2016). Poleg tega raziskave kažejo, da lahko istočasno doživljamo različno valentna čustva (Davydov, Zech in Luminet, 2011). Prej omenjeni avtorji (Picard et al., 2016) poudarjajo, da je to odraz dvodimenzionalnosti valence čustev, kar pomeni, da si lahko npr. vesel, ko zmagaš, in hkrati razočaran, ker si zbral nizko število točk. Zato bi morali pri valenci upoštevati oboje, kje je nekdo na kontinuumu od manj do bolj prijetne-

ga in kje na kontinuumu od manj do bolj neprijetnega čustvenega stanja. To je pravzaprav prava slika subjektivnega doživljanja in posledično kompleksnosti delovanja našega živčnega sistema.

Iz predstavljenega izhaja, da je fiziološko raziskovanje čustev precej zahtevno. Raziskovalci se zato navadno omejijo na kratke časovne izseke, kategoričen model čustev in namensko vzbujanje čustev. Vendar to ni enakovredno realnim življenjskim situacijam, zato mnogi avtorji (npr. Picard 2010; Porges 2014; Schore et al. 2014) poudarjajo, da bi bilo potrebno raziskovati realne čustvene situacije. Čustva odražajo, kar je za nas pomembno in to se lahko razlikuje od tistega, kar raziskovalci ocenjujejo, da je pomembno. Zato bi bilo raziskovanje spontanih čustvenih izrazov v vsakdanjih situacijah ključnega pomena za razumevanje in ne nazadnje verodostojnost znanstvenih spoznanj.

V povezavi z zunanjo veljavnostjo raziskav fiziologije čustev Friedman (2010) piše, da je stopnja specifičnosti odzivov AŽS ob čustvih odvisna od konteksta vzbujanja čustev, pri čemer naj bi bili odzivi najbolj čustveno specifični v kontekstu vsakdanjega življenja. V prejšnjem poglavju smo navajali, da mnoge raziskave kažejo, kako prevodnost kože nakazuje zgolj emocionalno vzdraženost in ne razločuje med posameznimi čustvi. Christie in Friedman (2004), Kreibig et al. (2007) ter Schaefer et al. (2010b) razloge za to pripisujejo metodi vzbujanja čustev, saj naj bi le-ta bila ključnega pomena za prepoznavanje specifičnosti odzivov AŽS pri različnih čustvih. Za vzbujanje čustev se namreč uporabljajo raznovrstne metode, med drugim slike (npr. Lang, Bradley in Cuthbert, 2008), priklic spomina (npr. Witvliet van Oyen in Vrana, 1995), poslušanje glasbe (npr. Nylíček, Thayer in Van Doornen, 1997), oblikovan pa je tudi standardiziran set filmskih odlomkov, ki izzovejo določena čustva pri odraslih (Gross in Levenson, 1995) in otrocih (von Leupoldt et al., 2007). Tako se je npr. pokazalo, da je gledanje žalostnega filma z vsebino, povezano z umikom in izogibanjem (ang. »avoidance«), pripeljalo do povečanega odziva prevodnosti kože, med tem ko je gledanje žalostnega filma, povezanega z navezanostjo (ang. »attachment«) vodilo do zmanjšanja odzivov prevodnosti kože (Davydov et al., 2011). Podobno so odkrili Ottaviani et al. (2013), in sicer da imata »fizični« in »moralni« gnus različne fiziološke vzorce. Kreibig et al. (2007) zato poudarjajo, da je pri primerjavi raziskav in podajanju zaključkov nujno upoštevati kontekst vzbujanja čustev. Poleg tega se je pri raziskovanju in merjenju čustev potrebno zavedati, da se čustva odražajo na mnogo različnih načinov in je fiziologija le eden izmed njih.

::SKLEP

Psihofiziologija, kot veda o raziskovanju povezav med fiziološkimi procesi in duševnostjo, je z razvojem sodobnih merskih pripomočkov doživela razcvet. Marketing, zabavno industrijo in potrošništvo še posebej zanima področje doživljanja čustvenih stanj, ki jih je mogoče preverjati preko fizioloških odzivov. Ugotovitve s pri-

dom uporabljajo pri razumevanju vedenja uporabnikov, pri optimizaciji prodaje pa tudi za izboljšanje zdravstvenega stanja in načrtovanje izobraževanja.

Psihofiziologija je zanimiva tudi za raziskovalce, ki poskušajo razumeti, kaj se dogaja z nami in znotraj nas, kako sta povezana telo in duševnost. Vila (2009) pravi, da so psihofiziološke raziskave kot okno v živeče telo (ang. »living body«); omogočajo nam, da lahko vidimo, kaj se dogaja v telesu, medtem ko mislimo, čutimo oz. nekaj počnemo. To je za raziskovanje obetavna in mikavna tematika, vendar pregled področja kaže, da v psihofiziologiji ne obstajajo enostavne vzročno-posledične povezave, ampak kompleksna soodvisnost. Le-ta je tako obširna, da potekajo psihofiziološka merjenja večinoma v kontroliranih eksperimentalnih razmerah, s skrbno načrtovano in nadzorovano metodologijo in protokoli. Ob tem se seveda zastavlja vprašanje zunanje veljavnosti, saj kot zajame problem Geršak (2015): »Najzanimivejša psihofiziološka merjenja pa seveda potekajo v realnem življenju, polnem interakcij, sinergij in medsebojnih povezav dogodkov, aktivnosti in človeških stanj«. To ne pomeni, da se psihofiziologije ne da ali nima smisla raziskovati, pomeni le, da so raziskovalci primorani iskati ravnotežje med metodološkimi prednostmi in omejitvami. Pričujoči članek je nastal z namenom, da bi tisti, ki bi se lotili raziskovanja prevodnosti kože in čustvovanja, lažje našli to ravnotežje.

Iz pregleda literature je namreč razvidno, da je prevodnost kože uporabna metoda raziskovanja čustvenega doživljanja, pri čemer pa je potrebno premisliti nekatera ključna vprašanja: (1) izbor merilne naprave; (2) namestitev naprave (dominantna - nedominantna stran, področje merjenja); (3) merjenje odziva ali ravni prevodnosti kože; (4) kakšno spremembo prevodnosti kože upoštevati; (5) izbor kriterija določanja čustev (kategorični model čustev nasproti doživljanju več čustev naenkrat, tudi različne valentnosti); (6) razmejevanje čustvene vzburjenosti od čustvene intenzivnosti; (7) določitev kriterija trajanja čustev; (8) izbor metode vzbujanja čustev ter (9) (ne)upoštevanje zunanje veljavnosti in merilne anksioznosti.

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ŠTUDIJA

STUDY

Avgust Lešnik

VPLIV ANALITIČNE FILOZOFIJE NA RESTAVRACIJO HISTORIČNE SOCIOLOGIJE

55-65

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::POVZETEK

Oživitev sociološkega zanimanja za zgodovino (od začetka šestdesetih let 20. stoletja) – končni rezultat je bila utemeljitev (sodobne) historične sociologije kot akademske discipline – ne bi bila tako prepričljiva, če v preteklosti ne bi bila obravnavana večina metodoloških problemov, ki jih lahko spremljamo skozi celotno obdobje krize historične sociologije (1880–1960). Zasluge za njihovo razvozlanje ne moremo pripisati sociologom, pač pa pripadnikom analitične filozofije.

Razprava[1] govori o restavraciji historične sociologije, ki je potekala ob hkratnih prizadevanjih za razrešitev štirih metodoloških vprašanj/dilem, ki so se vseskozi pojavljale v raziskovalnih praksah, in sicer: 1. problem razmejitve z zgodovinopisjem, predvsem s socialno zgodovino; 2. problem razmerja med posameznikom in družbeno strukturo (problem družbenega determinizma); 3. problem družbeno-zgodovinskih zakonov oziroma tipa kavzalnosti; 4. problem uporabe zgodovinskega gradiva.

Ključne besede: analitična filozofija, sociologija, zgodovinopisje, historična sociologija, analitična filozofija zgodovine, zgodovina historične sociologije

Abstract

THE IMPACT OF ANALYTICAL PHILOSOPHY ON THE RESTORING OF HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY

The revival of sociological interest in history (since the beginning of the sixties of the 20th century) – the end result was justification of (modern) historical sociology as an academic discipline – would not be as convincing if it had not addressed most of methodological problems that can be monitored throughout the period of the crisis of historical sociology (1880-1960). Credits for its deciphering can not be attributed to sociologists, but rather members of analytic philosophy.

Our debate speaks of restoring historical sociology that took place while striving to resolve the four methodological issues/dilemmas found constantly in research practices, namely: 1. problem with demarcation with historiography, especially social history; 2. problem of relationship between the individual and social structure (problem of social determinism; 3. problem of socio-historical laws or type of causality; 4. problem of the use of historical/empirical material.

Key words: analytical philosophy, sociology, history, historical sociology, analytical philosophy of history, history of historical sociology

*All sociology worthy of the
name is "historical sociology".*

C. Wright Mills[2]

::I.

Ponovna oživitev sociološkega zanimanja za zgodovino (od začetka šestdesetih let 20. stoletja) – končni rezultat je bila utemeljitev (sodobne) historične sociologije[3] kot akademske discipline – ne bi bila tako prepričljiva, če v preteklosti ne bi bila obravnavana večina metodoloških problemov, ki jih lahko spremljamo skozi celotno obdobje krize historične sociologije, ki je trajalo skoraj osem desetletij (1880–1960: 'od sociologije proti zgodovini do sociologije brez zgodovine').[4] Zasluge za njihovo razvozlanje ne moremo pripisati sociologom, pač pa filozofom, pripadnikom analitične filozofije, kot so Bertrand Russell (1979), John Austin (1990) in Ludwig Wittgenstein (1976; 2004). Ta usmeritev se je tudi za druge znanosti izkazala kot najbolj plodna in koristna.

Da bi se razlikovali tako od spekulativnih kot pozitivističnih/deskriptivnih filozofij zgodovine, so analitiki svoje ukvarjanje z epistemološkimi in metodološkimi problemi historičnih disciplin najpogosteje opredeljevali kot analitično filozofijo

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[2] Mills, C. W. (1959): *The Sociological Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press, str. 146.

[3] Ugledni teoretik Dennis Smith v svoji knjigi *The Rise of Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, Oxford: Polity Press, 1991), slov. prevod: *Vzpon historične sociologije* (Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 2011) na vprašanje – *kaj je historična sociologija?* – odgovarja: "Historično sociologijo predstavljam kot vedo, ki skuša razumeti preteklost (in sedanjost), tako da raziskuje, kako delujejo in se spreminjajo družbe" (str. 5). In dalje: "V svoji najboljši različici je historična sociologija razumska, kritična in domiselna. Išče mehanizme, s pomočjo katerih se družbe spreminjajo ali reproducirajo. Išče skrite strukture, ki nekatera človeška prizadevanja ovirajo, druga pa omogočajo, ne glede na to, ali to cenimo ali ne. Takšna vednost je vredna raziskovanja. [...] Raziskovanje mehanizmov družbene reprodukcije in transformacije je tesno povezano s še eno zadevo. To je raziskovanje osnovnih družbenih pogojev in posledic poskusov vpeljavanja ali oviranja takšnih vrednot, kot so svoboda, enakopravnost in pravičnost" (str. 9–10). "Če zelo poenostavimo, lahko rečemo, da je historična sociologija raziskovanje preteklosti z namenom, da bi ugotovili, kako delujejo in se spreminjajo družbe. Nekateri sociologi so 'nehistorični': empirično zanemarjajo preteklost, konceptualno pa ne upoštevajo niti časovne razsežnosti družbenega življenja niti historične specifičnosti družbenih struktur. Podobno so nekateri zgodovinarji 'nesociološki': empirično zanemarjajo razlike med procesi in strukturami v posameznih družbah, konceptualno pa se ne ukvarjajo niti s splošnimi lastnostmi procesov in struktur niti z njihovim odnosom do dejanj in dogodkov. V nasprotju z njimi se s historično sociologijo ukvarjajo zgodovinarji in sociologi, ki raziskujejo medsebojno preželanje preteklosti in sedanjosti, dogodkov in procesov, delovanja in strukturiranja. Ti raziskovalci skušajo združiti pojmovno pojasnjevanje, primerjalno posploševanje in empirično raziskovanje" (str. 12–13). Gl. še Lešnik, A. (2012): "Ob slovenskem prevodu knjige Dennisa Smitha Vzpon historične sociologije." V: *Zgodovinski časopis*, 66/3–4, str. 420–426); Lešnik, A. (2014): "Historična sociologija v očeh Dennisa Smitha." V: Vidmar Horvat, K. (ur.): *Dennis Smith v Ljubljani*. Ljubljana: ZZFF, str. 31–43.

[4] O periodizaciji zgodovine historične sociologije gl. Lešnik, A. (2011): "Skica za zgodovino historične sociologije." V: Smith, D.: *Vzpon historične sociologije*, str. 373–376 (v *Spremni besedi*).

zgodovine,[5] čeprav bi nemara še najbolj ustrezalo ime filozofija znanosti o zgodovini. Analitiki so namreč menili, da naloga filozofije ni niti v tem, da z apriorno analizo samorazvoja pojma določa strukturo zgodovinskega razvoja, niti da z aposteriorno analizo zgodovinskega gradiva izumlja zakone zgodovinskega gibanja, temveč da se ukvarja s problemi, ki jih generira sam obstoj organiziranega in sistematičnega historičnega raziskovanja, tj. z analizo jezika zgodovine. Zato se filozofija ne zanima več za zgodovinska vprašanja, temveč izključno za vprašanja o zgodovini. Analitični filozofiji so se v tem pogledu zastavljale štiri vrste problemov: 1. narava historiografije kot oblike spoznanja; 2. vprašanje, kaj je zgodovinsko dejstvo; 3. status t. i. historične objektivnosti; 4. problem razlage v zgodovinopisju.

»Analitiki« so se pri obravnavi problemov historičnega spoznanja razdelili v dve skupini: prva, občutno večja – sestavljali so jo Edward H. Carr (2008)[6], Charles Frankel (1959), Carl Gustav Hempel (1965), Karl Popper (1964; 1998), Paul Ricoeur (2001), Morton White (1965) idr. – je imela temeljne metodološke postavke historičnega pozitivizma v osnovi za pravilne, zato te avtorje imenujemo analitični pozitivisti; druga, manjša – tvorili so jo William Herbert Dray (1957; 1964), privrženci Robina G. Collingwooda (1994; 2002)[7], Hayden White (1978)[8] idr. – pa je bila zadržana do nekaterih tez klasičnega historicizma, zato njene pripadnike običajno imenujejo analitični hermenevtiki. Prav zaradi odprtosti in zgledne intelektualne korektnosti celotnega analitičnega gibanja postavljanje različnih argumentov in zagovarjanje različnih stališč ni paraliziralo metodoloških razlag, nasprotno, omogočilo je nadvse ploden dialog med gnoseološkima pogledoma pa tudi njuno uspešno povezovanje. Tako Jörn Rüsen, eden izmed vodilnih nemških teoretikov zgodovine, poudarja, da je dogodke, v katerih obstaja neposreden vpliv individualnega človeškega dejavnika, mogoče obravnavati hermenevtično, druge, ki so, denimo učinek/rezultat sprememb v strukturi, pa analitično. Obstajajo pa tudi dogodki, ki jih je mogoče obravnavati na oba načina.[9]

Razprava v analitični filozofiji je torej pokazala, da sta zgodovina in sociologija na isti osi historičnega spoznanja ter da med njima ni stroge ločnice. Zgodovinopisje se sicer večinoma zadržuje na tistem delu osi, kjer so posamezna dejstva ter individualna ravnanja/dejanja, medtem ko se sociologija zadržuje večinoma na nasprotnem delu osi, ki pripada posploševanju/ generalizaciji. Torej se obe, tako zgodovina kot historična sociologija, svobodno premikata vzdolž celotne dane osi, kar pomeni, da se tudi vzajemno dopolnjujeta in prepletata, da ju je včasih težko razlikovati. Obe disciplini

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[5] Več o tem gl. Danto, Arthur C. (1968): *Analytical Philosophy of History*. London: Cambridge University Press.

[6] Gl. še Luthar, Oto (2006): "Edward Hallet Carr." V: *Zgodovina historične misli*. Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, str. 577–580.

[7] Gl. še Kante, Božidar (1996): "Collingwoodova filozofija zgodovine in sodobne filozofije duha (Husserl, Wittgenstein)." V: Lešnik, Avgust (ur.): *Kriza socialnih idej. Britovškov zbornik / The Crisis of Social Ideas. A Festschrift for Marjan Britovšek*. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, str. 487–495.

[8] Gl. še Luthar, Oto (2006): "Hayden White." V: *Zgodovina historične misli*. Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, str. 595–597.

[9] Več o tem gl. Rüsen, J. (1983–1989): *Grundzüge einer Historik*, I–III. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

sta potemtakem zgolj segmenta enotnega korpusa historičnega spoznanja, njuno razmejevanje pa je bolj stvar akademske potrebe po razlikovanju dveh koncev istega predmeta preučevanja kot kakega epistemološko nepremostljivega precepa dveh različnih predmetov ali dveh nezdružljivih metod raziskovanja.

::II.

Ob povedanem ne gre prezreti bistvenega, da je restavracija historične sociologije potekala ob hkratnih prizadevanjih za razrešitev štirih metodoloških vprašanj/dilem, ki so se vseskozi pojavljala v raziskovalnih praksah, in sicer:

::(1) Odnos historične sociologije do zgodovinopisja

Glede tega vprašanja je bilo največ tavanja in negotovosti, tudi zato, ker je bila obnova historične sociologije deloma rezultat reakcije na superteoretske sisteme, npr. T. Parsonsovega (1966; 1971), kakor tudi na dogmatične-deduktivne aplikacije teorije (npr. v marksizmu), kar jo je pretirano približalo historični strani kontinuuma »zgodovina – sociologija«. Vse večja sociologizacija klasičnega zgodovinopisja in prepričanje, da »med družboslovnimi vedami in zgodovino preprosto ni nobenih logičnih ali celo metodoloških razlik, ki bi bile primerno opredeljene«,[10] sta privedla tako rekoč do poistovetenja sociologije in zgodovine. Po mnenju P. Abramsa sta bili »zgodovina in sociologija od nekdaj eno in isto«, ker sta obe disciplini »eno neprekinjeno in raznovrstno prizadevanje za delovanje na področju, ki ga jaz imenujem problematika strukturiranja«, iz česar sledi, da bi ju »lahko združili v en sam, enoten analitski program«.[11]

Seveda ne gre prezreti, da nujnost razlikovanja obeh ved ne izhaja samo iz akademskih potreb, saj imamo opraviti predvsem s predmetnimi in metodološkimi razlogi, ki zavračajo Abramsovo idejo o nekakšni sintezi zgodovine in sociologije v historični sociologiji. Naj ob tem spomnimo na E. Kiserjeva in M. Hechterjeva opozorila, da premajhna prizadevanja za vpeljavo splošnih teorij in opuščanje njihove uporabe v historičnih raziskovanjih, odvzemajo historični sociologiji njen sociološki značaj.[12] V tem kontekstu D. Smith upravičeno poudarja, da »mora delo v historični sociologiji od samega začetka postavljati teoretska vprašanja o empiričnih dejstvih, hkrati pa upoštevati, da so vprašanja, ki so jih ugledni teoretiki družbe zastavljali, veliko pomembnejša od njihovih ponujenih teoretskih sistemov«.[13] Iz tega

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[10] Giddens, Anthony (1979): *Central Problems in Social Theory*. London: Macmillan, str. 230.

[11] Abrams, Philip (1982): *Historical Sociology*. London: Open Books, str. x., ix. in xviii.

[12] Kiser, Edgar in Hechter, Michael (1991): "The Role of General Theory in Comparative-Historical Sociology." V: *American Journal of Sociology*, 97 (1), str. 4.

[13] Smith, D. (1982): "Social history and sociology – more than just good friends." V: *Sociological Review*, 30 (2), str. 289.

je razvidno, da mora – čeprav ni stroge razmejitve med sociologijo in zgodovino – obstajati notranja razdelitev raziskovalnih programov: če ima zgodovina v zgodovinopisju intrinzično vrednost (osnovni cilj zgodovinarja je ugotavljanje dejstev in narativno opisovanje individualne in/ali kolektivne zgodovine), potem ima zgodovina v sociologiji instrumentalno vrednost (kajti sociolog zgodovino uporablja kot sredstvo generalizacije in ustvarjanja občih razlagalnih shem).[14] Kot že rečeno, raziskovalni programi obeh ved ne samo, da niso rivalski, temveč ju je usmerjenost k vzajemnemu dopolnjevanju in podpiranju naredila za »več kot le dobri prijateljici«.[15]

::(2) Posameznik – struktura

Problem odnosa posameznika in družbene strukture, ki je ključen za razumevanje zgodovinskih in družbenih gibanj, je sodobni historični sociologiji uspelo rešiti bistveno bolje kot vprašanje razmejevanja z zgodovinopisjem. Kljub temu je potrebno opozoriti, da sta pri reševanju tega vprašanja prevladovala dva nezadovoljiva pristopa:

- prvi, *metodološki individualizem*, je izhajal iz prepričanja, da so dejanski/resnični samo individualni dogodki, ljudje in njihovo delovanje, medtem ko je pojem »družbe« instrumentalnega značaja, in sicer kot skupni imenovalec agregata odnosov, vlog in obnašanj, zaradi česar mora biti osnovni metodološki pristop v prvi vrsti usmerjen v analizo nagonov, obnašanja in vlog posameznih družbenih akterjev. Takšen pristop so sprva uporabljale vse oblike klasičnega zgodovinopisja in zgodovinske discipline (politična, ekonomska, družbena zgodovina itn.), srečati pa ga je bilo mogoče tudi v vseh tistih disciplinah, v katerih so prevladovali empirizem, deskripcija posameznih dogodkov ali pojavov, njihovo kronološko razvrščanje, zanimanje za posamične akterje ter njihove motive, dejanja ipd.;

- drugi, *metodološki holizem*, je v nasprotju s prvim pristopom definiral družbo kot zaprt in nadindividualni sistem z močjo samoregulacije, ki naddoloča temeljne oblike družbenih praks, kot so, denimo, verovanje, svetovni nazor in obnašanja individuumov. Osnovni metodološki cilj sociologije je v tem pogledu odkrivanje totalnih struktur, shem mišljenja in delovanja, ki iz njih izhajajo. Tak pristop so v prvi vrsti gojile sistemsko-funkcionalistične teorije, ki so jih v 50. letih prejšnjega stoletja razvijali Talcott Parsons, Edward Shils, Neil Smelser idr.,[16] najdemo ga tudi v dogmatskem marksizmu, ki je bil zapovedan v Sovjetski zvezi in drugih deželah Vzhodne Evrope, ter v frankofonskem strukturalizmu in v tistih hermenevtično-inter-

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[14] Več o tem gl. Goldthorpe, John H. (1991): "The Uses of History in Sociology: Reflections on Some Recent Tendencies." V: *British Journal of Sociology*, 42 (2), str. 211–230.

[15] Smith, D.: "Social history and sociology – more than just good friends", str. 290.

[16] Gl. T. Parsons in N. J. Smelser: *Economy and Society: A Study in the Integration of Economic and Social Theory* (London: Routledge, 1956) ter knjigi Parsonsovega učenca in glavnega predstavnika funkcionalistične smeri v sociologiji Roberta K. Mertona: *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959); *On Theoretical Sociology* (New York: The Free Press, 1967).

pretativnih družbenih zgodovinah, ki so za svoje razlage uporabljale holistični pristop *Zeitgeista* ali »značaja dobe«.[17]

Oba pristopa sta onemogočala učinkovito komunikacijo med teorijo in zgodovino; v prvem pristopu je bilo premalo konkretne teorije, v drugem pa premalo dejanske zgodovine. Z Giddensovo teorijo strukturiranja, izoblikovano konec sedemdesetih in na začetku osemdesetih let,[18] ter njeno različico v delih P. Abramsa, so bili postavljeni temelji tretji/sredinski poti, ki jo C. Lloyd imenuje metodološki strukturizem.[19] Njeno izhodišče je v ideji podvojene strukture (*duality of structure*), ki v odnosu do človeka istočasno nastopa kot njegov proizvod in kot sila izven njega. Strukture je sicer treba opazovati kot sedimentne proizvode delovanj iz preteklosti, a tudi kot polje, na katerem potekajo družbena dejanja sedanjosti, kjer imajo družbeni akterji vpliv na preformuliranje pravil igre: »strukturne lastnosti družbenih sistemov so tako posrednik (*medium*) kot rezultat (*outcome*) delovanja, ki uravnava te družbene sisteme«.[20]

P. Abrams v svoji *Historični sociologiji* predstavlja podobno koncepcijo, ki naj bi bila za to disciplino ključnega pomena. Naloga znanstvenikov, ki se ukvarjajo s proučevanjem zgodovine, je doumeti »odnos med tem, kar ljudje nameravajo s svojimi dejanji doseči, in tistim, kar jim zgodovinske okoliščine dejansko dovoljujejo doseči«, saj je vsak posamezni zgodovinski dogodek pravzaprav »konjunkcija delovanja in strukture«.[21] Abrams zato meni, da mora historična sociologija združiti različna sociološka pristopa – sociologijo delovanja in sociologijo družbenega sistema – pri tem pa izdelati lasten pristop, ki bi v sebi združeval najboljše elemente obeh, t. i. sociologijo procesa (*sociology of process*).[22] Vrednost teorije strukturiranja je predvsem v tem, da je omogočila nadaljnje premagovanje meje med svetovoma zgodovine in teorije, kakor tudi izogibanje jalovim epistemološkim razpravam, ki so se vrtele predvsem okoli vprašanja o primatu kavzalnosti.

::(3) Problem kavzalnosti

Povedali smo že, da je analitična filozofija nedvoumno potrdila logično-epistemološko nujnost obstoja družbenih in zgodovinskih posplošitev ter v tem pogledu namenila ključno vlogo sociologiji. Odprto je ostalo vprašanje, kakšna je naloga historične sociologije pri historičnih razlagah oziroma katera raven posplošitev je za

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[17] Več o tem gl. Lloyd, Christopher (1991): "The Methodologies of Social History: A Critical Survey and Defense of Structurism." V: *History and Theory*, 30 (2), str. 180–219.

[18] Gl. Giddens, Anthony (1989): *Nova pravila sociološke metode*. Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis.

[19] Lloyd razlikuje strukturizem (*structurism*) od frankofonskega strukturalizma (*structuralism*), ki da je samo ena od oblik holizma (Lloyd, C.: "The Methodologies of Social History", str. 189).

[20] Giddens, A.: *Central Problems in Social Theory*, str. 69.

[21] Abrams, P.: *Historical Sociology*, str. 34–35, 213.

[22] Prav tam, str. xv.

sociološki pristop k zgodovini najbolj primerna ali nemara celo neizbežna. Čeprav v sodobni historični sociologiji naletimo tudi na primere teoretskega skepticizma (odklanjanje možnosti odkrivanja občih kavzalnih zvez, npr. pri Reinhardu Bendixu in Michaelu Mannu),[23] je večina historičnih sociologov prepričana, da je za določene vrste socialno-historičnih pojavov ali stanj mogoče podati obči razlagalni okvir, in sicer na osnovi primerjalno-historičnih metod, ki vodijo do neke vrste induktivnega posploševanja. Vendar E. Kiser in M. Hechter opozarjata, da se historični sociolog ne more zadovoljiti s konstruiranjem posameznih modelov, ki kažejo na povezanost med vzrokom in posledico. Nasprotno, gre mu za odkrivanje kavzalnega mehanizma, s katerim je mogoče pojasniti, kako lahko neki vzrok proizvede določeno posledico.[24]

Tako se pomen občih socioloških teorij v historični sociologiji ponovno potrjuje, posebno ker pojasnjevanje kavzalnega mehanizma izhaja iz obče teorije. V podkrepitev: če Marx ne bi razvil svoje dokaj specifične obče teorije, njegova pojasnjevanja posameznih zgodovinskih in družbenih vzrokov zagotovo ne bi imela takega vpliva. Historična sociologija je lahko v tem pogledu posrečena kombinacija teoretskega in empiričnega, saj omogoča tako uporabo izrazito teoretskih abstrakcij utemeljitev sociologije, kot tudi sedanjo bogato metodološko izkušnjo odkrivanja in rabe empiričnega gradiva.

::(4) Problem uporabe empiričnega gradiva

To je nedvomno eden večjih metodoloških problemov, s katerim se še vedno sooča historična sociologija. Harry E. Barnes, avtor najstarejše knjige o tej disciplini v ZDA,[25] je menil, da bo mogoče natančno historično sociologijo napisati šele v prihodnosti, ko bo mogoče narediti sintezo iz vsega gradiva o posameznih obdobjih, ki ga bodo do tedaj zbrali etnologi in kulturni zgodovinarji. Drugačno perspektivo je ponudil Barrington Moore v svoji znameniti knjigi *Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, ko je primerjal komparativno-historičnega sociologa s pilotom; kakor pilot – v nasprotju z navadnim vojakom ali geologom – ne potrebuje natančnega zemljevida ozemlja, da bi bil pri svojem delu uspešen, tako historični sociolog za svoje delo ne potrebuje natančnih analiz, ki bi mu jih pripravili zgodovinarji za vsa področja in obdobja.[26]

Zgodovinarji največkrat zamerijo historičnim sociologom, da se ne ukvarjajo s

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[23] Gl. Bendix, R.: *Force, Fate and Freedom: On Historical Sociology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, str. xiii; Mann, M.: *The Sources of Social Power*, I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, str. 341. Bendix je radikalnejši od Manna, saj striktno zavrača možnost teorije v zgodovini.

[24] Kiser in Hechter: "The Role of General Theory in Comparative-Historical Sociology", str. 4–6.

[25] Barnes, H. E. (1948): *Historical Sociology: Its Origins and Development*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

[26] Moore, B. (1969): *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, str. xi.

primarnimi historičnimi raziskavami, pač pa se naslanjajo na sekundarne vire, zaradi česar so njihova dela nezanesljiva oziroma površna. Nekritično sprejemanje ugotovitev tujih raziskovanj je po mnenju britanskega sociologa Johna H. Goldthorpa za historičnega sociologa resno tveganje, da bo svojo raziskavo zgradil na trhlih temeljih. Glede na to, da so celo primarne raziskave pogosto utemeljene na dvomljivih ali nepopolnih podatkih, obstaja velika verjetnost, da bodo tovrstne nedoslednosti zapeljale historičnega komparativista na popolnoma napačno pot.[27]

Historični sociologi so odločno zavračali tovrstne očitke ter zatrjevali, da se je mogoče z ustreznim metodološkim postopkom izogniti pasti, ki jo predstavlja uporaba tujih primarnih raziskav:

Za historično sociologijo bi bilo dogmatično vztrajanje pri ponavljanju primarnega raziskovanja pri vsaki posamezni študiji naravnost pogubno; to bi bil konec večine primerjalnozgodovinskih raziskav. Če je tema preobsežna za raziskovanje in če že obstajajo različne dobre študije, ki so jih opravili specialisti, je mogoče sekundarne vire uporabiti kot koristno osnovo za primerjalne študije. Poleg tega se uporaba sekundarnih virov le malo razlikuje od raziskovalnih postopkov analitičnih disciplin, pri katerih se rezultati predhodnih raziskav s pridom uporabljajo, zaradi česar se vseh vprašanj ni treba lotiti od začetka.[28]

Pri uporabi primarnih raziskovanj je ključno, da se sociolog izogne interpretacijam zgodovinarja, ki je raziskovanje opravil. Kajti, kot je opozoril Leon J. Goldstein, v vsakem historičnem delu je treba razlikovati epistemološko superstrukturo in infrastrukturo; prva je avtorjeva razlaga zgodovine, druga pa sam postopek konstruiranja zgodovinske preteklosti na osnovi zgodovinskih dokazov, ki poleg dokazov vsebuje tudi sklepanje o njihovem pomenu in značaju.[29]

::III.

Če strnemo, sodobna historična sociologija je utemeljena na dveh podpornih stebrih: v prvem so t. i. trdna dejstva, ki jih je zbralo kvantitativno zgodovinopisje, v drugem – zagotovo tudi pod odločilnim vplivom analitične filozofije ter s pomočjo njenega instrumentarija – novonastale sociološke teorije in pojasnjevalni modeli, ustvarjeni v raziskovalnih laboratorijih teoretske sociologije. S tega vidika sodobna historična sociologija kot akademska disciplina ni samo dovolj trdno utemeljena, temveč je hkrati (kar je ključno) opremljena z dovolj močnimi in ambicioznimi raziskovalnimi programi, kar ji omogoča iskanje odgovorov na vsa odprta vprašanje teoretske paradigme.

[27] Goldthorpe, J. H. (1991): "The Uses of History in Sociology." V: *British Journal of Sociology*, 42 (2), str. 222.

[28] Skocpol, Theda (1984): "Emerging Agendas and Recurrent Strategies in Historical Sociology." V: Skocpol, T. (ur.): *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, str. 382.

[29] Goldstein, L. J. (1976): *Historical Knowing*. Austin: University of Texas Press, str. 141.

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MEDKULTURNOST V RELIGIJI

INTERCULTURALITY IN THE REGION

Mihela Melem Hajdarović

EUROREGIONS – NEW FRAMEWORK FOR INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE AND CULTURAL INTERACTION CASE STUDY: CROATIA

67-95

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::ABSTRACT

Territorial cooperation is a mainstream objective of EU regional policy today. During the 1990s numerous cross-border regions in Europe were established. In Croatia, the first was the Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion in 1998. This article analyses intercultural dialogue and cultural interaction in three Croatian Euroregions (Adriatic Ionian, Danube–Drava–Sava and Drina–Sava–Majevica) through three types of information relevant and collected for this examination: general informations, historic heritage and cultural events. The paper has three aims related to the state of successful Euroregions. The first aim is to research whether Croatian Euroregions have intercultural dialogue and cultural interaction in their territory. The second, is to explore how Euroregions accomplish intercultural dialogue and cultural interaction in their territory and the third is to explore possible reasons for uneven development.

I intend to show through a comparative case study analysis that intercultural dialogue in Croatian Euroregions exist, but is very unequal, due to the fact that they differ greatly in the degree of success and personal engagement of individuals involved in the work of the Euroregion.

Keywords: Euroregion[1], cross-border cooperation, Croatia, Adriatic Ionian Euroregion, Danube–Sava–Drava Euroregion, Drina–Sava–Majevica Euroregion

POVZETEK

EVROOBMOČJA: NOV OKVIR ZA INTERKULTURNI DIALOG IN KULTURNO INTERAKCIJO. PRIMER HRVAŠKA

Teritorialno sodelovanje je poglavitni cilj današnje evropske regionalne politike. V 90-ih letih so v Evropi nastale številne čezmejne regije. Na Hrvaškem je bila prva takšna Evroobmočje Donava-Drava-Sava iz leta 1998. Članek analizira interkulturni dialog in kulturno interakcijo treh hrvaških evroobmočij (jadransko jonska, Donava-Drava-Sava in Drina-Sava-Majevica) skozi prizmo treh vrst informacij, relevantnih za raziskavo: splošne informacije, zgodovinska dediščina in kulturni dogodki. Prispevek sledi trem ciljem na sledi uspešnim evroobmočjem. Prvi cilj je raziskati, ali na hrvaših območjih poteka interkulturni dialog in kulturna interakcija. Drugi cilj je raziskati, kako ta dialog in interakcija potekata in tretji cilj poiskati razloge za neenakomeren razvoj dialoga in interakcije.

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[1] Also European Regions or Euregios.

Prispevek skuša s primerjalno analizo pokazati, da interkulturni dialog na hrvaških evroobmočjih obstaja, vendar je mogoče med njimi zaznati velike razlike. Razlog zanje pa je razlika v uspešnosti in osebnem angažmaju posameznikov, ki delujejo v okviru evroobmočij.

Ključne besede: Evroobmočje, čezmejno sodelovanje, Hrvaška, Jadransko jonsko evroobmočje, Evroobmočje Donava-Drava-Sava, Evroobmočje Drina-Sava-Majevica

::1. INTRODUCTION

Through the centuries people have always been trying to make alliances. Maybe the human race realized that alliances make everyone stronger – during war, in peace, trade... We can't tell when this process reached its peak – whether it was in the 20th or it will be in 21st century. But after the Second World War and after the foundation of the alliances of the European Coal and Steel Community, European Economic Community and European Atomic Energy Community, the next stage of alliances in Europe were Euroregions. At first they were formed on the basis of the European Economic Community (first was EUREGIO on German-Dutch border in 1958), but after the 1990s (after the fall of the iron curtain) countries of the former Eastern bloc also started to make Euroregion alliances (the first was the Carpathian Euroregion in 1993).

So the questions arise – What is a region? What is a Euroregion? What are the Euroregions in Croatia? How do they accomplish interaction and intercultural dialogue in their territory?

How can we define a region? The word region comes from Latin word *regio, regionis* meaning line of separation, bargaining. But we should not look at region just as a result of a internal division of one state. Instead, region should be viewed as an area that due to its characteristics (natural-geographical, historical and socio-economic) is special and thus differs from the surrounding area. It's homogeneous. It is spatially unique, and it has internal connections and influences that differ from neighboring areas. But on the other hand no space is so homogenous that it is unique in all its characteristics. Therefore homogeneity in the separation and study of regions should depend on the choice and systematization of the criteria.

Therefore, if the areas of the region are to be observed, it can be concluded that they can cover a larger or smaller part of the space within one country, but it usually crosses the state borders.

For this reason we can define different types of regions. They are: regions inside one state, small-scale regions (transnational regions, across one or more nation state borders) and larger (multi)-scale regions (Working Communities, transnational regions, across several nation state borders). The last two transnational regions are cross-bor-

der regions, but only European small-scale cross-border regions[2] on the European territory are called Euroregions. The other ones are called Working Communities.

The Council of Europe very early on (1972) defined a Euroregion as »territory characterized by homogeneous features and functional interdependencies«[3]. Later (1995) they transfrontier region explained as »potential region, inherent in geography, history, ecology, ethnic groups, economic possibilities and so on, but disrupted by the sovereignty of the governments ruling on each side of the frontier«[4]. The Association of European Border Regions (AEBR) defined Euroregions through several indicators: they are associations of local or regional authorities (administrative-territorial units) on both sides of the border, which have cross-border co-operation; they have The Assembly (the highest governing body), but may have other bodies such as The secretariat or the technical and administrative department; are organized as non-profit associations or foundations (in accordance with the relevant national laws in force on both sides of the border) and cooperate on the basis of inter-state agreements.

But despite these pretty clear criteria the word Euroregion is also sometimes a rather imprecise concept used for all sorts of different arrangements[5] (it is often stirred with the concept of the Working Community). From all the above, we have to conclude that the Euroregions are small scale transfrontier regions situated in the areas that extend over one or more boundaries (which width isn't smaller the 50 km or bigger than 100 km). Unlike them large-scale regions (Working Communities) take up a much larger area and usually stretch across more state borders[6]. Apart from the surface area, Euroregions and Working communities also differ in the way of organization within the association[7] and at the level of the state bodies they co-operate with. The bodies in the Euroregions are: the Presidency, the Assembly, the Secretariat, and, where appropriate, different working groups each with a specific area of work. They usually co-operate with local authorities (lower level of government). Unlike them, the Working Community because of the size of the space they stretch on usually have a much larger organizational body[8] and thanks to its size are slower in the decision-making and difficulty to bring them (Perkman, 2003: 163.).

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[2] Perkman, 2005.

[3] Council of Europe, 1972, 29.

[4] Council of Europe, 1995.

[5] Some associations have officially taken the name of the Euroregion, but they are in the nature of the Working community (eg Carpathian Euroregion).

[6] Usually 4 or more state borders.

[7] According to the statute of the Euroregion, the Danube-Drava-Sava is an association with the following bodies: Assembly, President, Executive and Supervisory Boards and various other working bodies.

[8] The internal organization of the Carpathian region consists of the Council, the President, the Presidency, the Executive Director, the 5 National Offices (Member States) and the Financial Commission, the Commission for Regional Development, Environmental Protection, Social Infrastructure, Cross-border Trade and Natural Disasters. (Tanaka, 2006: 68). From its internal structure it can be seen that it acts as a Working Community rather than an Euroregion.

Due to their size, they usually cooperate with regional authorities (higher levels of government).

But no matter what level of government co-operated Euroregions don't have political power nor do they correspond to any legislative or governmental institutions. Their purpose is to promote common interests across the border and cooperate for the common good. Their main goal is development of cross-border area. Experience shows that most of the cross-border areas now engaged in cross-border cooperation had a marginal role in economic, geographical or political sense in the pre-accession period. After accession the marginal role transformed into a more central position.

According to some information border regions are 40% of the EU territory, so they play a crucial role in Europe. At this moment in time (2017) the European Union has 79 Euroregions. Three of them are from Croatia and surrounding countries. They are: Adriatic–Ionian, Danube–Sava–Drava and Drina–Sava–Majevica cross-border Euroregions. These are the area of our interest.

Cross-border areas usually are linked together through history or cultural, linguistic or some other reason. Adriatic–Ionian Euroregion is linked by its natural position – around the Adriatic Sea. One of the motives for establishment of Danube–Sava–Drava Euroregion was the project of European highway construction (corridor Vc), and establishing of the Sava waterway in Drina–Sava–Majevica Euroregion[9].

Euroregions are supported by the policies of the Council of Europe (from Madrid Convention in 1981. and its additional protocols) and by the financing of the regional policy of the European Union (INTERREG EUROPE). Territorial cooperation is a mainstream objective of EU regional policy. Legal frameworks for territorial cooperation in Europe are: European Economic Interest Grouping (established 1985), European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation[10] (EGTC; established 2006) and Euroregional Cooperation Grouping (ECG; established 2009).

Although most of the effort in Euroregions is aimed at removal of barriers for cooperation and economic growth, enabling workers and employers who are seeking employment, the mobility of people, services, goods or capital, numerous problematic question remain such as lack of cultural knowledge and language, social or political system knowledge and lack of appropriate methodologies for intercultural work.

What is intercultural dialogue?

Declaration on Intercultural dialogue and conflict prevention enacted in Conference of the European Ministers of Cultures held in Opatija 2003., defined intercultural dialogue as »set of tools used to promote and protect the concept of cultural democracy, and encompasses the tangible and intangible elements likely to foster all

[9] Croatia also has cross-border cooperation in Alps–Adriatic Alliance and tourism zone Haloze–Zagorje but they are not Euroregions and therefore are not within the scope of this research.

[10] Mura Region European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation Limited Liability (Mura Region EGTC) formed on May 28th 2015.

forms of cultural diversity, manifesting themselves in multiple identities whether individual or collective, in transformations and in new forms of cultural expression«. The conference concluded that intercultural dialogue must »extend to every possible component of culture, without exception, whether these are cultural in the strict sense or political, economic, social, philosophical, or religious«.

The European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research (ERICarts Institute) in the *Sharing Diversity* project (2008)[11] defined intercultural dialogue as »a process that comprises an open and respectful exchange between individuals, groups and organizations with different cultural backgrounds or world views. Among its aims are: to develop a deeper understanding of different perspectives and practices; to increase participation (or the freedom to make choices); to ensure equality; and to enhance creative processes«. A similar definition of intercultural dialogue is also provided by the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*[12] published in 2008 by the Council of Europe. It intercultural dialogue defines as a process of co-operation an open and dignified exchange of opinions between individuals and groups of different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage with mutual understanding and respect.

Intercultural dialogue within the Euroregion involves cultural initiatives and activities which bring together individuals/groups/organizations from different communities together in order to enter into a multi-directional communication process. Taken into consideration that Euroregions are shared space the aim of an intercultural exchange can be transformative of all those participating. Constructive dialogue and cultural exchanges brings cultures closer. They can teach us how to surpass the differences and old conflicts or historical animosities by finding common objectives.

::2. METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

The paper was extended research of the author's first article on intercultural dialogue and cultural interaction in the area of one Croatian euroregion (Danube–Drava–Sava)[13], which is now extended to all three Croatian Euroregions.

Sstudy combines two types of research; primary (personal contact with cross-border organization, via e-mail[14]) and secondary (gathering and analyzing already available print, published or Internet based information) from which will be taken inferred and deduced inferences.

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[11] Sharing Diversity, 2008., pp. XIII.

[12] https://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/source/white%20paper_final_revised_en.pdf

[13] Published in Croatian in the magazine Studia lexicographica, no. 21.

[14] A questionnaire for multicultural dialogue and cultural co-operation and their implementation in the Euroregion was sent to the leaders of all three Euroregions. Unfortunately, during the writing of the article I did not receive any answer (either in writing or in the oral form).

There are three types of information relevant and collected for this examination. This relevant information will be collected on all three Euroregions and they are divided into several small research areas. They are[15]:

Official information	Historic heritage	Cultural events[17]
Statute (regarding organization of the Euroregion and cultural interaction)	whether they have a common heritage	festivals (film, dance, literary)
officially recognized national minority in other countries	are there any mutual projects, exhibitions or promotion of common heritage, culture or languages	prizes (artistic, literary)
legally recognized languages of national minority groups		publication (books, guidelines etc.)
information on crimes (culture or religiously motivated)		social (cultural) associations,
whether rights to self-government or regional autonomy exist		development of information system (newspapers, web pages, television programs)
		other (exhibitions, concerts, other)

I believe that it will not be possible to collect all of this information for all Euroregions, but they are outlined here as guidelines on what to observe.

::3. GENERAL INFORMATION AND DETERMINING GEOGRAPHICAL CONFINES

The text will list geographical confines in three levels: state, first after the state. Of course it is possible to have more detailed territorial space analysis, but this is not necessary for this research.

::3. 1. The Euroregion Danube–Drava–Sava

After initial steps The Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion was formed on 28th of November 1998 in Pécs (Hungary). It was recognized by the European Council on 15th of September 2000.

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[15] Some of the criteria are are similar to the ERICarts proposal for discussion on Intercultural Dialogue, Cultural Policies and the Compendium.

[16] Active participation of minority in the life of the local community contributes to its prosperity and integration.

The main motive for establishment was to enhance traffic connections of the cross-border area itself and with other parts of Central Europe and the Adriatic coast by constructing European highway (Pan-European Corridor Vc). Today it comprises areas of Croatia (surface 14 590 km2; 51% of Euroregion's territory), Hungary (10 850 km2; 37%) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (3 900 km2; 12%) with a total population around 2 804 570 inhabitants (40% in Croatia, 32% in Hungary and 28% in Bosnia and Herzegovina). Serbia has status as an observer.

Members[17] of this Euroregion today are:

country	administrative structure
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Tuzla Canton
	Posavska County
	Brčko District
	Municipality of Tuzla
Croatia	Brod-Posavina County
	Koprivnica-Križevci County
	Osijek-Baranja County
	Požega-Slavonija County
	Virovitica-Podravina County
	Vukovar-Srijem County
	City of Koprivnica
	City of Osijek
	City of Požega
	City of Vukovar
Hungary	Baranya County
	Somogy County
	City of Barcs
	City of Pécs
	City of Szekzárd

(source: official Internet page)

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[17] Beside administrative structures members of this Euroregion are: Cantonal Chamber of Commerce Tuzla (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Croatian Chambers of Economy (Municipal Chamber Osijek, Municipal Chamber Požega and Municipal Chamber Vukovar) and Pécs-Baranya Trade and Industry Chamber (Hungary), but they aren't part of this research. This Euroregion also has observer members in Serbia (Apatin, Bač, Sombor, Subotica).

::3. 2. The Adriatic Ionian Euroregion

After initial steps Adriatic Ionian Euroregion was formed on 30th of June 2006 in Pula (Croatia). The main motives for establishment was to protect cultural heritage and the environment, to form an area of peace, stability and co-operation, to enhance traffic connections and secure sustainable economic development (particularly in tourism, fishery and agriculture) and to create a joint framework for better absorption of EU funds and support to others in the Adriatic area on their path towards the EU[18]. Today it is comprises areas of Italy (surface 92 628 km2; 62% of Euroregion's territory), Croatia (24 650km2 ; 16,6%), Albania (12 196 km2; 8,2%), Greece (11 509 km2; 7,75%), Bosnia and Herzegovina (5 763 km2; 3,88%), Montenegro (1 781 km2; 1,2%) and Slovenia (28 km2; 0,13%), with total population around 22 224 900 inhabitants (80,5% in Italy, 8,7% in Albania, 6,3% in Croatia, 2,4% in Greece, 1,5% in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 0,5% in Montenegro). Acording to its Statute (Article 5) it is »Association of territorial government, typically the first level below state level in the area of the Republic of Italy, the Republic of Slovenia, the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Montenegro, the Republic of Albania, the Republic of Greece, which are located on the Adriatic and Ionian Sea[19]«.

Members of this Euroregion today are:

country	administrative structure
Italy	Apulia Region
	Molise Region
	Abruzzo Region
	Marche Region
	Emilia–Romagna Region
	Veneto Region
	Friuli–Venezia Giulia Region
Slovenia	Izola (municipality)

[18] Adriatic Euroregion brochure, pp. 8

[19] See list of references for internet page of The Statute.

Croatia	Istria County
	Primorje–Gorski Kotar County
	Lika–Senj County
	Zadar County
	Šibenik–Knin County
	Split–Dalmatia County
	Dubrovnik–Neretva County
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Herzegovina–Neretva Canton
	West Herzegovina Canton
Montenegro	Municipality of Kotor
	Municipality of Tivat
	Municipality of Ulcinj
	Municipality of Herceg Novi
	City of Cetinje
Albania	Shkodër County
	Lezhë County
	Durrës County
	Tirana County
	Fier County
	Vlore County
Greece	Epirus Region
	Ionian Islands Region

(source: official Internet page)

::3. 3. The Drina–Sava–Majevica Euroregion

After initial steps The Drina–Sava–Majevica Euroregion was formed on 7th of May 2003 in Brčko (Bosnia and Herzegovina)[20]. The seat of the Euroregion today is in Bijeljina (Bosna and Herzegovina). The main motives for establishment were to give solutions on environmental problems (cooperation in prevention, rescue service and elimination of disaster consequences in cross-border area), cooperation with the aim to undertake common educational projects between schools of Tatry EGTC (education/training coordination across the border)[21] and to revitalize connections with the neighboring areas (development of poorly developed backward areas along the borderline[22]. Today it is the least intensive cross-border cooperation in the Croatian Euroregional cooperations. Priority projects are: to place in the function of the Sava River Navigation Way, simplification of customs procedures, creating a Investment Opportunities Map and development of a strategy for economic development with a focus on tourism development, agriculture, use of geothermal resources, protection of life medium and media connection (Klapić, 2007: 185–200).

Today it is comprises areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina (surface 2 636 km2; 54,4 % of Euroregions territory), Serbia (1 975 km2; 40,8%) and Croatia (231 km2; 4,7%), with total population around 579 000 inhabitants (57,3% in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 41,2 % in Serbia and 1,5 % in Croatia).

Members of this Euroregion today are:

country	administrative structures
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Serb Republic
	Federation (Tuzla Canton)
	Brčko District
Croatia	Vukovar–Srijem County
Serbia	Mačva District

(source: Bijelić, 2008, pp. 4-6)

[20] Since December 16th 2003, the founding municipalities (municipalities Bijeljina, Zvornik, Lopare, Ugljevik from Serb Republic, Tuzla from Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brčko Distrikt and Loznica, Bogatica, Šabac and Mali Zvornik from Serbia) welcomed seven new members of this Euroregion: municipalities of Čelić and Teočak from Tuzla Canton in Federation Bosna and Herzegovina, Pelagićevo, Srpsko Orašje and Šekovici from Serb Republic and Gunja and Drenovci from Croatia.

[21] Gyelník, Pete, 2016.

[22] Živković, Mandić, Papić, Stanojević, 2016, pp. 208–213.

Picture 1.

The area of The Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion, The Adriatic Ionian Euroregion and The Drina–Sava–Majevica Euroregion (created by Tomislav Kaniški, The Miroslav Krleža Lexicographic Institute)
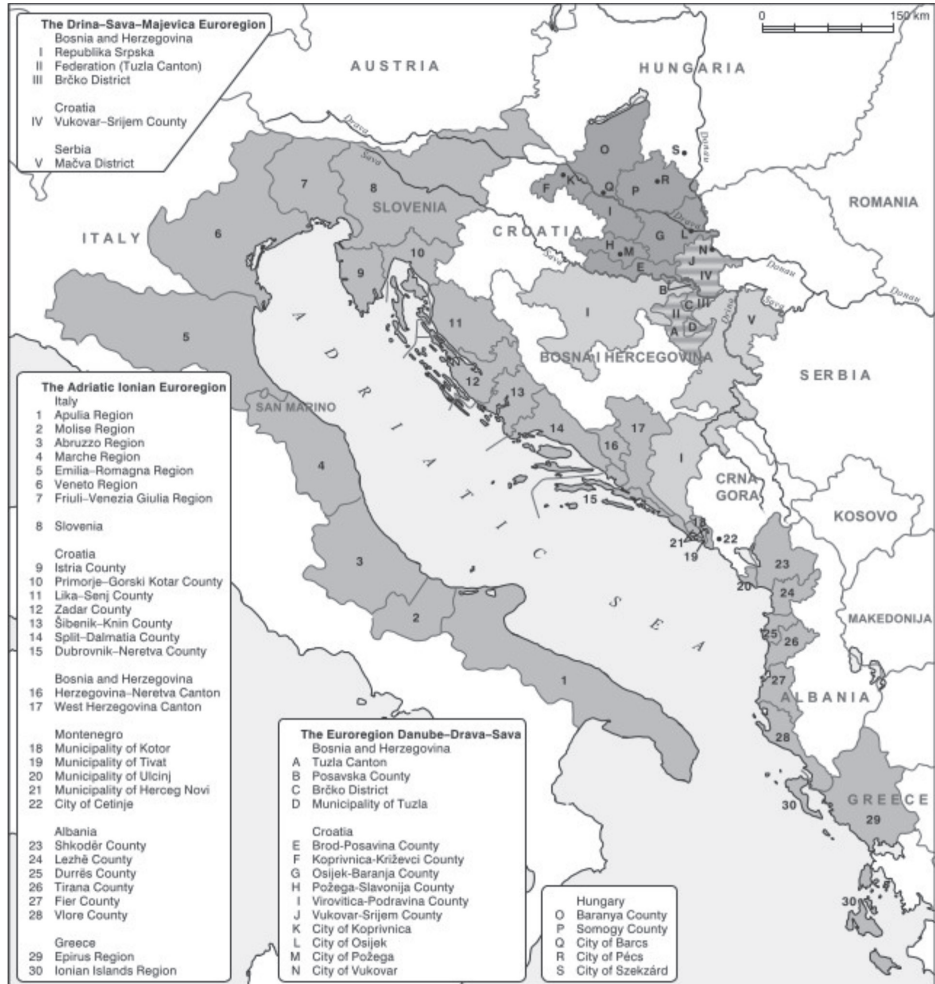
::4. THE RESULTS

::4. 1. The Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion

:4.1.1. Official information

Article 8 of The Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion Statute states: »The members join in the Euroregion to coordinate special interests and joint action in achieving common goals based on, among other things and the interest in improving the position of national minorities on both sides of the border«. One of the goals of cooperation article 9 of the Statute specifies as »improving the position of national minorities on both sides of the borders«. In order to accomplish these goals Euroregion will undertake activities such as: »Organizes joint activities to promote the wealth of diversity that makes it unique value of communion; organizes the preparation, development and implementation of joint development projects; organizes the establishment and encourages and assists in the development of cooperation in the field of spatial planning, nature conservation and environmental protection, transport and communications, economy, tourism and vacation, health and social welfare, science, education, culture, sports and information activities« (Article 10).

The Euroregional Secretariat (Secretary Office of Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion) provides administrative, technical and professional support to the functioning of all Euroregion bodies. It is a joint administrative-technical and expert service for this Euroregion, organized in three national offices with headquarters in Osijek, Pécs, and Tuzla (Article 36).

Numerous wars in this area have caused the migration of a large number of different nationalities. The most numerous minorities are Hungarians, Croats and Bosniaks divided by state borders. According to some assumptions there are around 2 500 000 inhabitants in this area today. All national minorities are recognized in the countries where they live. All three countries have Laws on national minorities. Official languages are: in Croatia; Croatian, in Hungary; Hungarian, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian. All three countries signed and ratified the European treaty – European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages[23] (adopted 1992). Hungary ratified this treaty in 1995, and recognized among others[24] the Croatian language (but not Bosniak or Bosnian). Croatia ratified the treaty in 1997, and recognized among others[25] the Hungarian language (but not

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[23] The European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages states that language is often a barrier to intercultural dialogue. Intercultural approach recognizes different linguistic diversity (minority communities), but it is necessary for minority communities to learn the language spoken by most people in order to be full citizens.

[24] Hungary on April 26th 1995. recognized Armenian, Boyash, Bulgarian, Croatian, German, Greek, Polish, Romani, Romanian, Rusyn, Serbian, Slovak, Slovene and Ukrainian.

[25] Croatia on November 5th 1997. recognized Czech, Hungarian, Italian, Rusyn, Serbian, Slovak and Ukrainian.

Bosniak or Bosnian). Bosnia and Herzegovina ratified the treaty in 2010, and recognized among others[26] Hungarian (Croatian is one of official languages).

Working languages of the Euroregion are English, Croatian and Hungarian. The Bosnian or Bosniak language is used in communication between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia.

Members of national minorities are guaranteed the right to education in their spoken and written language by the Constitution of all three countries. Members of national minorities can effectuate their constitutional right to education in their mother tongue in Croatia via three basic models and a specialized educational framework: first is in classes in the language of the national minority, second is in bilingual classes and third is in nurturing language and culture. Education in Croatia is being organized for the Hungarian national minority[27].

In each of the three state-members schools exist in minority languages. For example in Hungary (Pécs) there is Croatian Educational centre Miroslav Krleža through which Kindergarten, elementary school, gymnasium and student housing are organized. In Pécs is also the Croatian Institute of Science in Hungary, Croatian Theater (the only professional Croatian theater outside Croatia), the Croatian club August Šenoa and Croatian editorial office of Hungarian television and Hungarian radio that broadcast program in Croatian language.

The Croatian language is taught in University Janus Panonius (in Pécs), ELTE in Budapest and Universities in Sambotel and Baja.

According to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina Croatians are one of the three constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatian is one of three official languages. So in the areas with large Croatian populations, elementary and secondary schools are organized according to the curriculum in the Croatian language. Due to the small number of children teaching in Hungarian this education isn't performed in Bosnia and Herzegovina[28].

On the area of Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion there is no information on crimes that are culturally or religiously motivated. In Hungary there is a Croatian state government that works as self-government for Croatian national minority.

:4.1.2. Historic heritage

This area has historical heritage. The Euroregion area encompasses the southern part of Pannonia Vally. From the Roman Empire times Croatia and Hungary share parts of Baranja and Podravina region and from the 19th and 20th centuries they

[26] Bosnia and Herzegovina on September 21st 2010. recognized Albanian, Montenegrin, Czech, Italian, Hungarian, Macedonian, German, Polish, Romanian, Rusyn, Slovak, Slovene, Turkish, Ukrainian and Jewish languages (Ladino and Yiddish).

[27] In year 2011, 14 048 members of the Hungarian national minority were registered in the Republic of Croatia, mostly on the area of Osijek-Baranja and Vukovar-Srijem County.

[28] Today in Bosnia and Herzegovina there is less than 1000 Hungarians.

are a part of Habsburg Monarchy (Austrian Empire and Austro-Hungarian Empire). Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina share Posavina region and both were under Ottoman Empire (since 15th century), The state of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs (from 1918), Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918–29), Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929–41), Independent State of Croatia (1941–45) and Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–92).

Hungarian minority in Bosnia and Herzegovina is there since the beginning of the 13th century and during the medieval times. Their contacts are interrupted by the Ottomans winning Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the beginning of the 18th century. Relationships are re-established in 1878 when Bosnia and Herzegovina joined the Austro-Hungary Empire[29] but after World War I. and the disappearance of the Austro-Hungary Empire, the Hungarian national minority mostly retreats in Hungary.

The cultural and historical heritage created during that time can be and is a good base for development in all sorts of tourism. There are some mutual projects, exhibitions or promotion of common heritage, culture or language in Euroregion. For example Croatia and Hungary have *Festival of common cultural and historical heritage of cross-border area*[30]. That festival promotes Croatian and Hungarian cuisine, the Croatian language in Hungary and Hungarian in Croatia, mutual historical and cultural connections, national literature, national folk costumes, national music and dances, presents historical paths in both countries and sightseeing of some cultural and historical notabilities.

Common historical past, geographical unity and ethnographic diversity are nurtured in the project *Baranja …that binds us*[31]. Baranja is one region in two states – Croatia and Hungary. Osijek and Pécs are twin-towns from 1975. Collaboration between these areas will result in project *Complex cultural tourist cooperation.* Project holder is Osijek-Baranja County and partners in the project are City of Osijek, Baranja County (Republic of Hungary) and City of Pécs. The project was submitted in 2005 and lasted 18 months. Financed by funds of Neighbourhood programme INTERREG IIIA the total nominal value for this project was 432 425 € (195.000 € for Croatian and 232.425 € for Hungarian part in this project).

Project aims are joint cultural and tourist promotion of the Baranja County, the City of Pécs, City of Osijek and Osijek-Baranja County. In order to do this, they agreed on the key activities. They are: a joint cultural-tourist events as part of the preparation of the City of Pécs for the European Cultural Capital 2010, making the application form of the Osijek Fortress for entry to UNESCO's list of monumental cultural heritage, restoration of the rural economy of the Šokačka kuća (house) in Baranjsko village in Topolje (municipality Draž) and production of

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[29] Some of the Austro-Hungarian governors of Bosnia and Herzegovina were Hungarians – Kállay Beni and Burián Istva.

[30] For 2011. held in Pécs.

[31] http://www.obz.hr/hr/pdf/baranja/baranja.swf

promotional materials related to the promotion of mentioned cultural-tourist events and localities[32].

One of the results of this cooperation is publication of *Baranja …that binds us* (as writen and Internet page edition)[33]. The aim of this publication is to present shared values of the historic Baranja now divided by the border but still as a unique product on the tourism market of Europe, Croatia and Hungary.

The project *Digital history,* was realized by cooperation between Pécs, Đakovo and Srijem Diocese primary[34], but with time project also included Osijek-Baranja County, Osijek's State Archives, Osijek Tourist Board, Osijek's Slavonia Museum, and numerous other cultural institutions. This project aims to present the church and secular cultural monuments on both sides of the Croatian-Hungarian border, namely the Bishopric of Pécs, Đakovo and Srijem Diocese. Result of the project was Internet page *Digital history* and book Our European heritage published on Croatian, Hungarian, English and German language. Book presents 60 church parishes and their sacral and historical heritage and other objects shown on around 18 000 pictures.

:4.1.3. Cultural events

Numerous cultural events are organized in the Euroregion. Some of them organizes the leadership of the Euroregion, and some are not. One of the longest festival events is the International Festival of Art Tamburitza Music[35], founded in 1961, organized by the Croatian Tamburitza Association from Osijek. During the years festival was mostly held in Osijek, but also in some other Slavonian towns and other areas of Euroregion (once in Tuzla and twice in Pécs). But the festival did not gain an international character just by the hosts but also by the numerous participants (tamburitza orchestras and chamber ensembles) that came from Hungary, Vojvodina and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Because of international character of the festival and the fact that the content of the event contributes to the realization of the goals of establishing the Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion, ie the implementation of its program orientations, the Executive Board of the Euroregion decided in 2007 that it will be its sponsor (organizer is the same)[36].

Within the Complex Cultural Tourist Cooperation project (Složena kulturno-turistička suradnja), the planned calendar of events consisted of Week of Gastron-

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[32] http://www.ddseuro.org/portal/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=201&Itemid=65

[33] http://www.obz.hr/hr/pdf/baranja/baranja.swf

[34] Today Đakovo-Osijek Archbishopric.

[35] The festival has changed its name several times over the years. In 2009, in the title was added to the word *international,* and in 2017 the word *artistic* was added and *Croatian* was excluded.

[36] In a conversation with the president of the association organizing the festival, Krešimir Račić, it was found that the decision that patronage of the Euroregion over the festival never came to life.

omy and Art (in Pécs), Croatian Day as part of the Festival of Cultural Heritage (taught on Croatian language), Jazz Spring Festival (in Pécs and Osijek), XVII. Folklore days (in Pécs), XI. European songs (popijevke) festival, performances of Croatian choirs in Pécs and Hungarians in Osijek, Zsolnayeva Ceramics Exhibition (in Osijek), concert of the Panonian Philharmonic from Pécs (in Osijek).

Euroregion also had a project named *@CCESS* (from the INTERREG IIIA program), with aims to contribute to the development of digital society by networking and internetization of the documentation of the units of regional and local self-government longl the Croatian-Hungarian border. The project holder was Baranya County (Hungary) and partners of project were Osijek-Baranja County (Croatia), University of Pécs, regional NUTS III authorities in Pécs and Foundation for youth economists from Hungary.

One of the projects was project of interlibrary cooperation between the City and University« Library of Osijek and the County Library »Csorba Győső« from Pécs. Aims of cooperation were exploration and enablation of interlibrary cooperation in order to achieve rich all cultural cooperation between the two people and two states on the satisfaction of researchers and scientists.

Under the influence of the Croatian national minority in Hungarian city of Mohács is held every year at the end of February a six-day carnival – Busó Festival. The festival was named after a costume commonly worn by men, and consisted of wooden horn-jacket and large woolen cloaks. The festival has so far grown into one of the most vibrant symbols of the city. Today, two museums dedicated to this costume can be found in the city – Busóudvar and Busó House.

Numerous national societies and associations have been organized in the Euroregion. The Associations / Societies of Croats working in Hungary are: Bunjevačka Catholic reading room (in Baja), Basic museum (in Mohács), Society of Croatian Journalists, Hungarian-Croatian Society, Croatian Literary Circle, Society of Croatian Catholic Youth, Museum of the Sacred Art of the Croats in Hungary (in Prisika), some Basic Libraries, Croatian Clubs (Baja, Mohács, Pécs, Budapest, Koljnof etc.), cultural-artistic societies, singing choirs and tambura compositions[37].

Hungarian Associations / Societies working in Croatia are: The Hungarian Democratic Union of Croatia (in Bilje), Association of Hungarian Associations (in Beli Manastir), the Society of Hungarian Scientists and Artists in Croatia, (headquarters in Zagreb) and Association of Hungarian Teachers of the Republic of Croatia[38].

In Bosnia and Hercegovina there are three associations of citizens of Hungarian origin but only one works on the area of the Euroregion – Hungarian Association Petefi Šandor (in Brčko District)[39].

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[37] Središnji državni ured za Hrvate izvan Republike Hrvatske. Hrvatska manjina u Republici Mađarskoj (see reference, Internet pages).

[38] Ured za ljudska prava i prava nacionalnih manjina (see reference, internet pages)

[39] Nacionalne manjine u BiH, 2015.

As far as the Croatian associations and societies are concerned, there are too many for them to be mentioned here, but they can be located on the internet page of Central State Office for Croats outside the Republic of Croatia[40].

The Euroregion had its magazine *Our Europe,* published in Croatian language, lunched in the spring of 2000 on the initiative of the Local Democracy Agency in Osijek (of the Council of Europe). The magazine was published occasionally (4 numbers) until April 2002, when the Bosnian and Herzegovinian side took over the presidency of the Euroregion.

The official Internet page of The Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion (www.dd-seuro.org) established immediately after the start of Euroregions work provides information on members of the Euroregion and their action, cultural cooperation, regional development (economy, traffic, tourism, sports, education), calendar of events, work reports and etc.

::4. 2. The Adriatic Ionian Euroregion

:4.2.1. Official informations

Article 5 of The Adriatic Ionian Euroregion Statute declares the aims of Euroregion. One of them is aim to create cultural exchange programs. Article 29 states that Euroregion has 7 thematic Commissions, among others they are The Commission for Tourism and Culture and The Commission for Social Affairs.

According to the survey of Eurydice[41] almost all countries have one national language that is taught in schools. There are also several languages of the region or languages of national minorities that can be taught in schools as well.

Almost all national minorities are recognized in the countries where they live. All seven countries have the Law on national minorities. Official languages are: in Italy; Italian in Slovenia; Slovenian, in Croatia; Croatian, in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian, in Montenegro; Montenegrin, in Albania; Albanian and in Greece; Greek.

Five of them signed and four of them ratified European treaty European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (adopted 1992). Italy signed (2000) but did not ratified treaty. Italian Law no. 482/1999 recognize among others[42] minority languages: Albanian, Croatian, Greek and Slovenian (but not Bosniak or Bosnian, Montenegrin and Albanian). Slovenia ratified treaty in 2000, and recognized among others [43]

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[40] Središnji državni ured za Hrvate izvan Republike Hrvatske. Hrvati u Bosni i Hercegovini (see references, Internet pages).

[41] Ključni podatci o poučavanju jezika u školama u Europi, 2012.

[42] Italian Law (no. 482/1999) recognized following historical language minorities: Albanian, Catalan, German, Greek, Slovenian, Croatian, French, Franco-Provençal, Friulian, Ladin, Occitan and Sardinian.

[43] Slovenia on October 4th 2000 recognized Hungarian, Italian and Romani.

Hungarian and Italian language as minority languages and protected them by the Constitution of Slovenia. Croatian, Bosniak or Bosnian, Albanian or Greek are considered as significant languages but they are not recognized in European treaty or they are protected by Constitution of Slovenia despite the fact that more people speaks Croatian or Serbian than Italian or Hungarian[44]. Croatia ratified treaty in 1997, and recognized among others[45] Hungarian and Italian language (but not Bosniak or Bosnian, Slovenian, Montenegrin, Albanian or Greek). In Croatia minority languages are in official use in local government units where more than a third of the population consists of national minorities or where local legislation mandates their use. Bosnia and Herzegovina ratified treaty in 2010, and recognized among others[46] Albanian, Hungarian, Italian, Montenegrin and Slovenian (Croatian and Serbian are official languages) but did not recognized Greek as minority language.

Montenegro ratified Treaty in 2006, and recognized among others[47] Albanian language. Montenegro's language has historically and traditionally been called Serbian. In 2003. Government of Montenegro defined the mother tongue in the school curriculum as »Montenegrin, Serbian, Bosniak and Croatian languages« but after Serbia and Montenegro broke up, via proponents of Montenegrin independence an idea emerged that Montenegrin standard language separates from Serbian and that Montenegrin became the official language of Montenegro with the ratification of a new Constitution on 22 October 2007. Since 2011. mother tongue in schools are Montenegrin – Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian language and literature. Albania didn't signed or ratified European Treaty. Minority languages among others[48] in Albania is Greek. All other languages spoken within this Euroregion are not minority languages in Albania. As Albania Greece also didn't signed or ratified European Treaty. Like in Albania all other languages spoken within this Euroregion are not minority languages[49].

According to the Statute of Adriatic Ionian Euroregion (Article 2) working languages of the Euroregion are official languages of the member states of the Association.

In the Adriatic Ionian Euroregion there is no informations on any crimes that are culture or religious motivated.

Although most countries have a law that permits a certain measure of self-government by the national minority where it is inhabited, I have not found a case of

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[44] According to the Census 2002.

[45] Croatia on November 5th 1997. recognized Czech, Hungarian, Italian, Rusyn, Serbian, Slovak and Ukrainian.

[46] Bosnia and Herzegovina on September 21st 2010. recognized Albanian, Montenegrin, Czech, Italian, Hungarian, Macedonian, German, Polish, Romanian, Rusyn, Slovak, Slovenian, Turkish, Ukrainian and Jewish languages (Ladino and Yiddish).

[47] Montenegro on February 15th 2006 recognized Albanian and Romani language.

[48] All mother tongues in Albania are Greek, Macedonian, Romani, Serbian and Aromanian.

[49] Minority languages in Greece are Armenian, Bulgarian, Romani and Turkish.

this practice in the area of this Euroregion. For example Croatia has Constitutional Act on the Rights of National Minorities passed by the Croatian Parliament at its session on December 13th 2002. Article 21 writes »Local and regional self-government units in which members of national minorities do not comprise the majority in the population may, by means of their statutes, determine that members of national minorities or a greater number of members of national minorities than their share in the overall population in the unit, may be elected to the representative body of the local self-government unit or regional self-government unit«. National minorities who are represented in the total population of the municipality or city represented by 5-15% have the right to one representative in the representative body and if represented more than 15% have the right to proportional representation in the representative and executive body. But I did not found any self-government on Croatian area of Italian, Slovenian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, Albanian or Greek national minority.

:4.2.2. Historic heritage

This area has historical heritage. First contact were made in The Archaic Age (800 to 480 BC). The Arhaic Age is characterized by Greek colonization on the coasts of the Mediterranean (Sicily, southern Italy, southern France) and Adriatic. After that time the oldest and largest Greek colony on the Adriatic are established – Issa on the island of Vis (founded between 397 and 390 BC), Pharos on the island of Hvar (around 384th BC), Tragurion (end of III. century BC), Epetion and Asseria.

The autochthonous cultures of Liburna and Delmata were subject of helenization. Hellenistic cultures are found in Greek colonies around Adriatic, Ionian and Mediteranian Sea. In the end, the Romans 146. BC beat the Ahaic Alliance and made Greece into their province.

Numerous settlements in Roman times acquire the features of the Roman city (Parentium / Poreč, Salona / Solin, Iader / Zadar, Narona / Vid near Metković, Aenon / Nin, Varvaria / Bribir), forum complexes with basilicas, turrets, (Pola / Pula, Salona) and amphitheatres (Pula, Salona, Burnum / Ivoševci near Kistanja), villas (Brijuni, Polače on Mljet), the road (Salona-Sirmium, Emona-Sirmium) and the bridges and aqueducts (Diocletian's waterworks). Diocletian rises his Palace in Split. After Constantine's Tense of Tolerance 313 begins the flourishing of early Christian art in natural symbiosis with antique culture (most important monuments of Early Christian sacral architecture were located in Salona).

After Roman Empire, Bizant, as the eastern successor of the Roman Empire, became the main political force. At that time a series of fortifications were erected to defend and control the waterway, including the Byzantine castrum on Veli Brijun and magnificent architectural monument from that time and complex of Euphrasius Basilica in Poreč. The Venetian Republic was of great importance during the

Middle Ages. As a naval and commercial force Venetia controlled the trade of the Adriatic and Ionian Sea. After few centuries Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were under Ottoman Empire.

In 20th Century Italian invasion of Albania was a short-lived armed conflict that occurred between the Kingdom of Italy on one side and the Kingdom of Albania on the other side. Invasion of Albania made her a part of Italian Empire. It lasted from 1939 until 1943 (Italian capitulation in the Second World War).

Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro share common history throughout the 20th century. From The state of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs (from 1918), Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918–29), Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929–41) and Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–92).

Throughout the past, this whole space was very much interwoven in cultural, political, economical and in a variety of other ways. In the Statute of Adriatic Ionian Euroregion are listed 4 areas of action of this Euroregion: international cooperation, sustainable development, environmental and nature protection and democratic political culture (Article 5). None of them are involved in cultural interaction in this Euroregion area. Although Article 29 states that Euroregion has 7 thematic Commissions, among others The Commission for Tourism and Culture and The Commission for Social Affairs, there are no information on their work in the annual reports.

Adriatic Ionian macro-regional strategy The EUSAIR[50] has a limited focus on areas of mutual interests. It is built on four thematic pillars: blue growth, connecting the region (transport and energy networks), environmental quality and sustainable tourism. The Adriatic Ionian Euroregion will play an active role in some ETC programmes like the cross-border programmes (Interreg Italy–Croatia, IPA Italy–Albania–Montenegro, Interreg Italy–Greece). Nor is this strategy (EUSAIR) or this ETC programmes envisaged any form of intercultural cooperation. There aren't any mutual projects, exhibitions or promotion of common heritage, culture or language.

:4.2.3. Cultural events

The Euroregion is not conducting any form of intercultural activity, all the intercultural cooperation existing among the members of the Euroregion has emerged as an incentive for the states that implement it and is not part of the common Euroregion policy.

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[50] EUSAIR is short for EU Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region. It is a macro-regional strategy developed by European Commission and Adriatic Ionian Region, adopted in 2014. by European Commission. This strategy aims at creating synergies and fostering coordination among area of Adriatic Ionian Euroregion. First meeting of EUSAIR was held in Dubrovnik on 12 and 13 May 2016. (http://www.adriatic-ionian.eu/)

::4. 3. The Drina–Sava–Majevica Euroregion

:4. 3. 1. Official informations

The Statute of this Euroregion encourages among other joint regional projects. The Euroregion will encourage cooperation between citizens and cultural and public institutions, and will also work to simplify and advance the human rights and multiethnic linking of citizens of the Euroregion Drina–Sava–Majevica (Osmanković, 2007: 69–90).

All national minorities are recognized in the countries where they live and all countries have the Law on national minorities. Official languages are: Croatian in Croatia, Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbian in Serbia. They all ratified European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1997, 2006 and 2010). Far the largest number inhabitants of this Euroregion speak Serbian[51] which is priceless base for easy communication, education and cultural cooperation.

Daily newspapers frequently come up with news of attacks on hate against members of national minorities. Those attracts have been ongoing over the past 25 years. They are result of a war that separated the republics of former Yugoslavia and gained their independence. No national minority has any special self-government or is otherwise organized in any other way within the country in which it is inhabited.

:4. 3. 2. Historic heritage

Area of this Euroregion throughout centuries was the line of separation of East and West, of Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodox Christianity. During some time it was obstacle for Ottoman Empire's expansion in Europe. But from the times of the penetration of the Ottoman Empire in Croatia it lost it's separation role. Since Ottoman Empire this area was mostly under the rule of Habsburg Monarchy (since 1878). In the 20th century it was part of several states: The state of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs (from 1918), Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918–29), Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929–41), Independent State of Croatia (1941–45) and Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–92). Since the independence of the former Yugoslavian republics their state borders became fairly rigid borders, especially those between Croatia and Serbia. Areas that was previously closely connected suddenly had new artificial barrier that stopped development process and cultural cooperation. Due to the brutal past in this area, the existence of this Euroregion has a lot of importance and is a prerequisite for economic and cultural development of this region.

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[51] Most of the Euroregion is situated in the border area of Serb Republic and Serbia.

:4. 3. 3. Cultural events

During the research I came across several major difficulties. The greatest was that this Euroregion does not have its own Internet site. So, all the information I sought was very time consuming to research. Another complication as a result of a lack of an official site meant that it is difficult to evaluate the accuracy of information in other sources. During the research I realized that the lack of information related to the activity of this Euroregion is a result of its weak activity or no activity at all. On the area of this Euroregion there are 5 cities: Bijeljina, Zvornik, Brčko, Loznica and Šabac. They aren't small and they are well placed in space. In the period of official census[52] the biggest was Bijeljina (population of 114 663) and the smallest was Zvornik (population of 12 674). That means that these are not small towns without a cultural scene and that they are capable for cultural cooperation. I suppose this cultural cooperation is weak because this Euroregion does not work.

I learned that there is only one cultural manifestation – Drisama fest, an international singing festival and competition in literary and art works on witch children attending elementary school in the area of this Euroregion compete.

::5. CONCLUSION

This examination of Croatian Euroregions had three aims: to research whether Croatian Euroregions have intercultural dialogue and cultural interaction in their territory; to explore how Euroregions accomplish intercultural dialogue and cultural interaction and to explore possibly reasons of uneven development.

During the research I found out that just one Euroregion actually has intercultural cooperation. That is Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion. The Adriatic-Ionian Euroregion had no cultural interaction between its members (some cultural cooperation is considered in their Statute but it is in reality not implemented or implemented in a very small proportion). Almost the same situation is in The Drina–Sava–Majevica Euroregion because it organizes only one festival in its territory, so it can not be said that there is intercultural cooperation and cultural dialogue on that territory.

But, how The Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion accomplishes intercultural dialogue and cultural interaction? The area where The Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion extends has a rich common historic heritage used by the leaders of the Euroregion to better connect this area and it's people. Their connection is seen in mutual projects, exhibitions and cultural events, such as (projects) Baranja ... that binds us, Complex cultural and tourist cooperation, Digital history, (festivals) Festival of common cultural and historical heritage of cross-border area, The Festival of Croatian Tamburitza Music, Busó Festival, Jazz spring festival and in action of different social associations and societies. The Euroregion activity is visible on their official

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[52] Last census in Serbia was held in 2011 and in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2013.

website, and during some time in its publication *Our Europe*. Concern about intercultural cooperation is visible in the Statute of Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion and in everyday life. National minorities inhabited in the area of this Euroregion are recognized in Croatia, Hungary and Bosnia and Herzegovina, their language can be taught at school, and it is also visible in everyday life (eg. in street names). A small number of crimes cultural, religiously or minority motivated has been recorded. That is why this Euroregion was the best example of this research.

The leadership of this Euroregion is active and thus this space is progressing. The same can be said for the Adriatic–Ionian Euroregion, but The Drina–Sava–Majevica Euroregion has weakly or almost no activity. Unlike The Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion Adriatic-Ionian Euroregion had no cultural interaction between its members. Some cultural cooperation is considered in their Statute but it is in reality not implemented or implemented in a very small proportion so that it is not reported on their official website[53] or in other sources of information.

It can be said that the whole area of the Euroregion is in some way impoverished because cultural development is also one of the preconditions of overall progress. Given that the Euroregion did not conduct cultural co-operation among its members, I researched each member state as it treats national minorities and their language in the area that Euroregion extends. During the research, I learned that most states have the rules (Law) that regulate their attitude towards the national minorities inhabiting its space. Some of the grants from their budgets take care of the activities of national minorities, their associations, publications and so on. Based on this it can be concluded that cultural cooperation within the Euroregion would not only be possible but would be very rich if the Euroregion decided to deal with this aspect of its action as well.

The worst Croatian Euroregion in its ineffectiveness, then in cultural cooperation too, is The Drina–Sava–Majevica Euroregion. The only cultural manifestation is Drisama fest, international singing festival for the children attending elementary school in the area of this Euroregion. According to the acknowledgments of some of the leaders of the Euroregion published in the daily press in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this Euroregion is almost inactive (not only in terms of cultural cooperation but in general). Thanks to this fact, it is easier to understand why this Euroregion does not have its own website, why it is difficult to reach its Statute and why we can learn about her rare meetings from short articles in the daily press or news section on the web pages of a few municipalities that are her members. Therefore despite rich cultural heritage and the fact that this Euroregion is established – inhabitants of this area have no benefit of it and cultural and economic progress of this region has left in care to their home countries. Considering the painful past that still affects people today and creates their thinking, intercultural dialogue must be encouraged. Constructive dialogue and cultural exchange will be transformative of all

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[53] The activity of this Euroregion is primarily directed towards economic activity and maritime affairs / fishing.

those participating. It can help to learn how to surpass the differences and old conflicts or historical animosities and how to find common objectives for the future. I can confirm my assumption that (through a comparative case study analysis of intercultural dialogue in Croatian Euroregions) intercultural dialogue exist, but only in one Euroregion – The Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion.

What are possibly reasons of uneven development and why the cooperation in one of the three Euroregions is better than in the others?

They differ greatly on the degree of success and personal engagement of people involved in the work of the Euroregion. The Danube–Drava–Sava Euroregion doesn't have better driving forces and favourable circumstances than the two others. The only obstacles that I observed were the weak activity of leading people in the Euroregion (or their inactivity) or the focus on some other (economic) aspects of co-operation. There are not findings of data or problems that The Euroregion leadership has failed to solve and therefore have failed to leave this kind of cooperation.

In this article Euroregions were seen as a key driver of intercultural dialogue and cultural cooperation, but a very important role in this process has Internet and written media. Freedom of expression under Article 10, Paragraph 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights is *conditio sine qua non* in intercultural dialogue. The media are required to accept new and objective information and to fight against stereotypes, because the information that is insulting and abusing (not to be mentioned defamatory) is perceived as a direct threat to cultural tolerance. The media should show the cultural diversity of a society so that viewers / listeners / readers who do not come into contact with different cultures every day gain a certain platform, or an exact context, where they can upgrade reconciliatory intercultural dialogue.

Another important things are families, school, workplaces and cultural centers. They are the pillars of social cohesion. Leadership that nurtures multiculturalism is recognized by providing public space (available to everyone) to engage in intercultural dialogue. Such spaces can be educational (kindergartens, schools, universities), religious (churches, synagogues, mosques) and cultural institutions (museums, libraries, cultural centers, youth clubs). That's a something that all Euroregions (as one of the ways of association the area) certainly can strive for.

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Nina Kompein

THE CLADDAGH – THE VISUALISATION OF IRISHNESS IN A LOCAL IRISH PUB OUTSIDE OF IRELAND AND THE INTENTIONALITY AND AWARENESS THEREOF

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::ABSTRACT

This article explores the visualisation of Irishness in The Claddagh, an Irish pub in the south of Austria, and the intentionality and awareness thereof. The premise of the paper is that the deliberate and planned construction of Irishness by means of palpable features both draws on and creates a 'typically Irish' identity of and within The Claddagh, but is not being perceived and distinguished in the singularity of individual segments by its customers. None of the three parts of this paper's hypothesis could be affirmed in their entirety. The findings show that, due to the too narrow focus, insufficient attention was directed towards intangible features which have been recognised as decisive factors for a pub to be deemed an Irish pub.

Key words: The Claddagh, Irishness, visualisation, intangible features, identity

POVZETEK

THE CLADDAGH − VIZUALIZACIJA IRSKOSTI V LOKALNEM IRSKEM PUBU IZVEN IRSKE IN NJENA NAMERNOST TER ZAVEDANJE O NJEJ
Članek raziskuje vizualizacijo irskosti v The Claddagh, irskem pubu na jugu Avstrije, in njeno intencionalnost ter zavedanje o njej. Predpostavka razprave je, da namerna in načrtovana konstrukcija irskosti s pomočjo oprijemljivih značilnosti črpa iz 'tipično irske' identitete ter jo ustvarja za The Claddagh in znotraj njega, ne da bi jo njene stranke zaznale in razpoznale v individualnosti posameznih segmentov. Nobenega od treh delov hipoteze te razprave ni mogoče potrditi v celoti. Izidi kažejo, da zaradi preozke osredotočenosti ni bilo namenjene dovolj pozornosti neopredmetenim značilnostim, ki so se izkazale kot odločilni dejavniki za dojemanje pivnice kot irski pub.

Ključne besede: The Claddagh, irskost, vizualizacija, neopredmetene značilnosti, identiteta

::1. INTRODUCTION

Globalisation has changed the world rapidly and thoroughly. Never before was it as easy as now to experience whole chunks or tiny pieces of 'foreign' cultures within the area that we call 'home'. With the Chinese restaurant around the corner and Italian pizza delivery services operating even in the countryside, the world seems to be at our doorstep, ready to be tried out and at hand to get familiar with. Owing to the conventionality and familiarity of such establishments, they lose their foreignness and become part of the respective local culture. Often, those chunks of other cultures are the only elements we get to know about them and thus they function as representative for the corresponding cultures and their belonging societies. Based on partial information tied to as limited a source as the menu, for instance, it may happen that customers form their idea of an entire culture, its people, and its characteristics. It appears to be a short-sighted and uneducated way of encountering the unknown, yet, due to the fast-paced rhythm of daily life, presumably most people lack the time, energy, and willingness to engage with the uncharted waters more than necessary. In turn, institutions like the Chinese restaurant and the Italian pizzeria are based on their recognisability as such. They employ a number of features to conjure the notion of an authentic place to get 'foreign' food. Similar to the Chinese restaurant and Italian pizzeria, another phenomenon has been conquering the world over the last couple of years: the Irish pub. Loved by many, hated by some, the Irish pub is an establishment that polarises and attracts attention (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 46). In the western world, it seems to be next to impossible to not at least know what it is supposed to be or represent. With this in mind, this essay explores the manifestation of Irishness in a local pub outside of Ireland, namely in Klagenfurt, a town in the south of Austria. More precisely, it is an attempt to investigate the visualisation of Irishness in The Claddagh and the intentionality and awareness thereof. The premise of the paper is that the deliberate and planned construction of Irishness by means of features such as interior, products, and written language both draws on and creates a 'typically Irish' identity of and within The Claddagh, but is not being perceived and distinguished in the singularity of individual segments by its customers.

::2. FINDINGS OF EXISTING RESEARCH

As a phenomenon which polarises and attracts attention (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 46), the Irish pub is not merely of interest to its customers and 'consumers', but also to scholars in various fields of study. For example, it can be looked at from an economic perspective (Lego et al., 2002; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006) or a cultural frame of reference (Blommaert and Varis, 2015; Grantham, 2009). Different approaches may focus on the factors which ensure profitability, the pubs' ties to identity building processes, or the construction of Irishness by means of audible,

visible, and palpable usage of artefacts. These and similar approaches may be uti-
lised in their singularity or they may be combined in order to create a more com-
prehensive picture of the phenomenon of the Irish pub.

In their article "Enoughness, Accent and Light Communities: Essays on Con-
temporary Identities", Blommaert and Varis (2015) focus on the discursiveness, au-
thenticity, and sufficiency of hallmarks constituting items of orientation for identi-
ty construction. With regard to the Irish pub, elements indispensable for the estab-
lishment's distinctiveness are of interest. The authors of this cultural study offer an
overview of a pool of possible items or characteristics a pub can avail itself of and
categorise them into five groups of elements: the name of the pub, the semiotic fea-
tures displayed in the pub, the basic symbols of Ireland, the music, and the prod-
ucts on sale. Apart from that, they mention the importance of the interior design
and the organising of events deemed particularly Irish (Blommaert and Varis, 2015:
10–14). This categorisation, together with the observation of the way authenticity
is deliberately constructed, forms the basis for the empirical part of the present re-
search project, as it highlights what needs to be considered throughout the process
of scrutinisation and during the interview with the pub owner and the establish-
ment's customers.

Grantham's (2009) article "Craic in a box: Commodifying and exporting the
Irish pub" adds a few characteristics to the list of elements identified by Blommae-
rt and Varis (2015), but is especially interesting because it gives emphasis to the
commercialisation and commodification of the Irish pub. By explaining the "'Crit-
ical Success Factors'" (Grantham, 2009: 258) as identified by Diageo-Guinness
USA, a subsidiary company of a British firm, the author questions and ridicules the
credibility of the proposed step-by-step concept for ensuring authenticity. After a
short overview of the history of the Irish pub and its social position in Irish and
British society, he even leads to the belief that the 'authentic Irish pub' does not ex-
ist in Ireland and is a mere construct designed to cater to an audience with some
sort of romantic vision of Irish culture (Grantham, 2009). This idea will prove val-
uable in assessing the pub owner's depiction of the status quo and the interpretation
of the results of the investigation.

The article "Inventing the pubs of Ireland: the importance of being postcoloni-
al" by Patterson and Brown (2007) employs a rare approach, as it looks into the oc-
currence of the Irish pub from a postcolonial standpoint by means of engaging an
"imagined Wildean postcolonial theory" (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 43). This
theory can, supposedly, be expressed with the help of "his 4Ps of postcolonialism –
paradox, parody, provocation and *performance*" (43, emphasis taken from the origi-
nal). The authors reveal the paradoxical existence of the Irish pub, which originally
developed out of the English pub and is a global phenomenon rather than a truly
Irish institution (45–46). They disclose the mechanics behind the "Irish boozer",
which, as a negative image of the stereotypical Irish, has been reclaimed by the Irish
in a parodic way for reasons of marketing. As an establishment "either loved or hat-

ed" (46), the Irish pub is bound to provoke, accordingly evoking either inclined or ill-disposed reactions. Lastly, the element of performance relates to the discursive nature of the Irish pub fiction, which needs to be continually retold by the people visiting it and is therefore always subject to development within the frame of the same story (45–49). These four characteristics will contribute to a more meaningful understanding of the pub owner's answers, the decoration displayed in the pub, and the customers' observations.

These sources, as well as four further articles which focus on the connectedness of retail, the thirst for themed environments, the notion of authenticity, and the customers' role in the workings of ethnically themed establishments (McAuley and Pervan, 2014; Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999; Lego et al., 2002; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006), offer a better understanding of the Irish pub and the way it is being constructed. They give insight into the workings of individual components and their carefully thought-through combinations, which are responsible for attracting the pubs' clientele. It is revealed that Irish pubs do not simply function as such due to being managed according to tradition. Instead, they point to the fact that in many if not most cases the familiar homelike and pleasant atmosphere is the result of accurate plans and strategies catering to a fairly recently developed notion of what an Irish pub is supposed to be. McAuley and Pervan (2014) investigate whether there is something like an "authentic notion of Celtic marketing" (81). Initially, they identify common ideas about the Celts, equating them with the Irish and Scots. This is followed by the utilisation of different theories to probe for traces of these conceptions in the marketing of three different Celtic brands. Based on the reliance on generalising and rather stereotypical ideas of Celticness, wherein relaxedness, impulsiveness, and mysticalness prove to be defining traits, the conclusion confirms the existence of distinctively Celtic ways of marketing (McAuley and Pervan, 2014). Despite the speculative outcome founded on the acceptance of stereotypes as a basis for research, this article is of use precisely because of the collection of stereotypes and with regard to the outline of the history and features of the Celts in connection with strategies of commodification. Beardsworth and Bryman (1999) enquire into the phenomenon of the themed restaurant. According to their supposition, themed restaurants are grounded in the appropriation of a narrative which is readily accessible and determines the customers' experience. The study provides a theoretical framework for the investigation of different types of theming, namely reliquary, parodic, ethnic, and reflexive theming. Themed restaurants are supposed to be hyperreal spaces based on simulacra which offer an opportunity for escaping the everyday and are accepted as such by the customers who are aware of the feigned environment and welcome it (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999). This text has been of value in the field of pub-analysis especially because of the concept of ethnic theming within the taxonomy of different manners of theming. In addition to this, it is of interest to the present research project due to the recognition of the customer as a knowing subject willingly engaging in escapism offered for mon-

ey. The study conducted by Lego et al. (2002) focuses on reality engineering of themed environments such as the Irish pub and the undefinable and allegedly unimportant authenticity of Irish pubs for pub-goers outside of Ireland. The latter seem to favour the hyperreal and idealised reproduction of the real Irish pub and do not seem to be preoccupied with questions of genuineness (Lego et al., 2002: 72). However, questions of authenticity regarding the Irish pub are found to be a productive field and reoccurring theme in research thus far. Looking into the construction of themed environments and the engineering of Irish pubs, Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon (2006) determine reoccurring characteristics of Irish pubs and highlight the crucial role of the staff, customers, and atmosphere among many other things. It is noted that customers assume the double role of consumers and producers of their pub experience. Notably, the elements contributing to a positive experience of a typical Irish pub as identified by the participants of the study differ based on the subjects' nationality. Non-Irish pub-goers appear to perceive material-based artefacts as constitutive for Irish pubs, whereas Irish customers focus on intangible features in ascribing authenticity (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 224–231).

However authenticity can be constructed, perceived, and analysed and whatever the reasons for the functioning of the concept 'Irish pub' across cultures are, the commercial success appears to confirm the viability and popularity of the concept (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 223–224). What the sources vital to this research do not pay much attention to is the question of how the planning in the background affects the pub owners' and/or staff's relationship to the establishment and how much of this meticulous planning, including cultural and linguistic features, is in fact being perceived by the occasional or loyal pub-goer.

::3. SCOPE

This research project based on a field study mostly differs from other studies in four points. Firstly, in this paper, attention is directed towards the customers' perception of the constructed-ness and visibility of Irishness at work in an Irish pub. This interest was grounded in the assumption of deliberate and thought-out planning underlying the creation of (attempted) authentic Irishness. Other studies, however, aim at the customers' perception of authenticity rather than constructed-ness (Blommaert and Varis, 2015; McAuley and Pervan, 2014; Lego et al., 2002; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006). Secondly, similar yet not identical to Blommaert and Varis's (2015) and Patterson and Brown's (2007) studies, the focus of this paper is centred on Irishness and Celticness, the way they are evoked, and their influence on identity formation of and within the pub. The focus of other studies is directed towards authenticity and its implications for retail (McAuley and Pervan, 2014; Lego et al., 2002; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006). Thirdly, this paper is based on a case study of a pub in a non-English-speaking environment with a fairly low amount of extra-European cultural diversity and takes into scrutiny both

tangible and intangible features contributing to its Irishness. The research in the articles either focuses on pubs in English-speaking countries along with the importance of intangible features and narrative, partly also taking into consideration Irish subjects (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006) or on pubs in (non-)English-speaking countries and the role of mainly tangible elements (Blommaert and Varis, 2015; Lego et al., 2002). Exceptions are two studies which undertake their investigation without a field study and enquire into tangible and intangible features along with the history and function of the Irish pub in order to illuminate rather paradoxical developments in its global expansion (Grantham, 2009; Patterson and Brown, 2007). Fourthly, this paper is also rooted in an interest in linguistic features present in the pub's creation of a narrative of and about Irishness, while neither spoken English as a means of communication between staff and customers nor written traces of English and/or Gaelic have attracted much attention in other papers. Blommaert and Varis (2015) constitute an insignificant divergence as they only mention that English as a means of communication would not be accepted well by customers of an Irish pub in Belgium (13).

::4. METHODOLOGY

Aiming to examine whether or not the premise of this essay can be substantiated and to illuminate the presumably crucial interplay between visible traces of language and markers of culture, the thereby constructed Irishness, and the pub's popularity amongst its customers, the present study is based on the following research question: How intentional and planned was the creation of authenticity in The Claddagh and to what extent are its customers aware of what they expose themselves to? In order to find answers to the manifold segments of this question, different methods have been employed.

Founded on the findings of the articles revised above and with the help of assumptions and presumptions made in literature existing to date, a field study has been conducted. The field study has been centred on The Claddagh, one of two Irish pubs in the town of Klagenfurt. The Claddagh has been chosen over the Molly Malone for two reasons. One of them is tied to the fact that The Claddagh is Irish-owned whereas the Molly Malone is not, the other is connected to the general notion of The Claddagh being the only 'original' or 'true' pub in town and the correlated frequent dismissal of the Molly Malone. Owing to the different parts of the research question demanding answers, the field study has been split into three subcategories. To become familiar with the pub in question, the customer area has been subject to close scrutiny. The attempt was to take notice of as many instances of the manifestation of Irishness as possible. During three separate visits to the pub, the notes have been appended with respective new observations. In order to grasp the individual background of The Claddagh's history and the actual range of the intentional and systematic construction of authenticity expected to be operating out

of the public eye, an in-depth interview with the pub owner has been conducted. To ensure that all points of interest were covered and to allow for potential additional details exceeding the information within the frame of expectations, the interrogation was semi-structured. It was grounded on a number of predefined open-end questions or areas of interest, respectively, yet diverted from the scheme sketched out beforehand whenever it appeared appropriate. For reasons of scientific accuracy and accountability, the conversation with the pub owner was recorded with a digital recording device. As a means to apprehend the extent to which The Claddagh's customers perceive and distinguish the individual features that constitute the Irishness of the pub, enquiries into their awareness of aforementioned features have been made. Those similarly semi-structured mini-interviews with customers have been conducted during two separate visits to the pub. To prevent potential disgruntlement of the randomly selected interview partners, the conversations with them were designed to be short, focusing on a small number of likely detections only, and were not recorded with any recording device. Instead, their answers were jotted down in the form of brief notes. Following the field study, the outcomes are presented along with the interpretation, evaluation, and contextualisation thereof.

::5. PRESENTATION OF OUTCOMES

::5.1. Personal Observations

In the course of three separate visits to The Claddagh, several detections concerning the pub's representation of Irishness have been made, some expectedly, others rather surprisingly. These detections can be grouped into a small number of different categories, which, in part, correspond to those identified by Blommaert and Varis (2015). Due to the observations made, their categories entailing the name of the pub, semiotic features, and the symbols of Ireland were grouped into slightly more extensive categories. In turn, the categories of merchandise, impalpable features, and linguistic aspects appear to be of importance and thus constitute separate categories.

The first category consists of products offered at the bar. Since the pub does not offer food other than frozen pizza, these products are limited to a selection of beverages, this selection, however, being fairly broad. The drinks available can be classified into two subcategories, namely drinks of non-Irish origin and drinks of Irish origin. Owing to the focus of the research, the beverages of non-Irish origin will not be listed here. The drinks of Irish origin are Guinness, Kilkenny, Murphy's, and Magners, all off the tap. Amongst bottled beer there is O'Hara's, and, in addition, there is an ample selection of different kinds of Irish whiskey, including the well-known and popular Jameson, Tullamore Dew, and Connemara. Basically, all widely known Irish brands are obtainable.

Secondly, the category of merchandise includes a wide range of products being displayed in a glass cabinet in the immediate vicinity of the entrance as well as one

in the cellar which the customer passes on their way to the toilets. These two glass cabinets expose to view anything from the obligatory Guinness glasses, over fridge magnets, key rings, bookmarks, and bags, to socks, T-shirts, and ashtrays, all setting forth some feature clearly identifying them as items representing Ireland and, on that account, Irishness. They bear the Guinness logo, the figure of Wanky Woollie, an Irish shamrock or the like. In addition to that, the showcase at the entrance displays a framed picture of the Claddagh ring, reminding the potential buyer of souvenirs what the memory of a purchased item should be tied to. Merchandise in The Claddagh clearly makes use of and enhances symbols and ideas tied to stereotypical notions of Ireland and thus diverts from the outline of the rest of the pub.

Thirdly, music plays a role in the formation of the pub's 'identity' as an Irish pub. An average Austrian visitor would probably expect to hear Irish folk music, however, in The Claddagh there is a wide range of genres, mainly in the areas of rock and pop. Thus, customers will happen to hear songs by The Dubliners and U2, for instance, yet they will be even more likely to be exposed to songs by Blink 182 and other select bands. This mirrors an atmosphere that would also be typical in a pub in Ireland, where there is no need to confirm Irishness by means of sticking to traditional music only.

Fourthly, non-palpable, intangible features are manifested in customs which confer with the norm of a certain culture and can be identified best when juxtaposing them with practices of another culture, in this case Austrian habits. One of the strongest diversions in terms of distinct customs within the context of pub life entails the practice of serving customers at the bar rather than at the table. This habit is being enforced particularly strongly whenever the pub is crowded, yet is not being followed as strictly when there happen to be fewer guests. Further, a bell at the bar allows for the assumption that it is being used to announce last orders, a meaning which differs from the message the use of such a bell typically conveys in an Austrian setting. There, ringing the bell would usually signify a free round of drinks for everybody present. Such impalpable features appear to be insignificant, yet change the way staff and customers interact with and amongst each other, as they also facilitate small talk between people who do not know each other.

The fifth category can be determined as the category of interior design and decoration. Arguably, this constitutes the second biggest of the six classes and can be subdivided into secondary groupings. One such subcategory refers to the interior design, which is dominated by dark brown wood, brass, stone, and dim lights, all aiming to create a typically homelike, warm, and pleasant atmosphere. This is reminiscent of the notion common also in the UK, where the Irish pub is supposed to originate from (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 45), which suggests that a pub should feel like the 'extension of the living room'. Another subcategory entails decorative items scattered all across the pub to evoke Irishness on the level of cultural associations. Partly, these items consist of objects bearing brand names and include empty bottles of Guinness and Jameson Irish Whiskey, a Guinness clock next to the en-

trance, mirrors with the logos of Harp lager, Tullamore Dew, and Paddy, Old Irish Whiskey, a Magners poster, a Kilkenny metal plate, and a crate of Jameson. To some degree, however, they are composed of artefacts such as a knitted pullover made of sheep wool, a bell used for signalling last orders, and widely known symbols of Irishness including a Celtic cross of about fifteen centimetres, shamrocks of all forms, and a leprechaun figure holding a football with signs pointing towards it. The interior design is modelled on the appearance of regular pubs traceable in Ireland and the UK, whereas the decoration seems to enforce the idea of Irishness by means of increasing the number of items referring to Irish brands and symbols.

The sixth category, finally, encompasses linguistic features of any kind and constitutes the largest section, while, at the same time, being the grouping of most considerable importance for the present research. These linguistic features are manifold in nature and can, in part, be noticed already before entering the pub. All written and spoken forms of communication are either in English or the Irish Gaelic language. The latter is one of three Goidelic languages next to Scottish Gaelic and Manx which together form one of two groups of the Insular Celtic languages (Russel 1995, 7). Apart from the display of Irish brands in the form of Magners sunshades and a Guinness sign board above the entrance during summer, small signs in English inform the visitor that the outside sitting area is open between five and half past ten post meridiem. Around the sitting area, an inscription reads "We're not original, we're just real", referring to the thus advertised authenticity of the pub. A chalk board in front of the entrance bears information on live music nights or pub quizzes, which take place on a regular basis. The name of the pub is exposed to view on the facade, spelling "The Claddagh" and marking its Irishness and connection to Celticness through seemingly unusual phonetic features and a font based on the majuscule or half-uncial and the minuscule, two variants of a script invented by Irish monks in the early Middle Ages (McGrath 2007, 216). On the entrance door, a small metal plate spells the Gaelic phrase "céad míle fáilte" (meaning inasmuch as "a hundred thousand welcomes"), also written in the same Irish font. Inside the pub, these types of objects can be found all over the place. Altogether, the various manifestations of English and Irish language can be grouped into six indistinct subcategories. There is advertisement material by Irish brands with phrases or slogans such as "Lovely day for a Guinness". Signs around the pub and the menu inform customers about practices, events, and the like; screens, for example, instruct them to order at the counter by displaying "[t]onight is bar service only; please get your drinks at the bar", whereas the menu contains small information boxes about miscellaneous Irish idiosyncrasies. Manifestations of written Gaelic can be found in various places, thus, at the bar there is another sign with the phrase "céad míle fáilte", the bill features the pub's logo and spells "Go raibh maith agat agus Slan abhaile!" (meaning something like "thank you and goodbye"), and even the toilet signs illustrate a link to Celtic culture as they delineate the Gaelic "mná" and "fir" in the Irish script indicating the facilities for women and men. The arcaded ceiling is covered in quotes by famous Irish persons or people of Irish descent

such as Richard Harris ("I often sit back and think, I wish I'd done that, and find out later that I already have"), George Best ("I blew hundreds of thousands of pounds on women and drinking – the rest I just squandered"), Oscar Wilde ("Work is the curse of the drinking class"), and John F. Kennedy ("Forgive your enemies, but never forget their names"), all written in the typical minuscule and thereby evoking the Celtic component of Irish culture. The same process operates in the words, phrases, and entire texts in the minuscule font, which are written on plates, boards, framed tea cloths or similar surfaces; these include Irish blessings, a map of Ireland, Irish sayings, and the Irish anthem. Most importantly, however, in The Claddagh, the language of communication amongst staff members and between staff and patrons is English instead of German as could be expected due to the geographical context. This appears to be of significance as it requires local customers to leave their comfort zone of their first language and because it simultaneously provides a ground for intercultural communication between staff and customers and also amongst customers with potentially differing cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

These personal observations would allow for the assumption that the manifestation of Irishness and apparently inherent authenticity of The Calddagh are indeed the outcome of deliberate planning or, at least, the result of conscious decisions. To discover to what extent they really are consciously planned and to confirm or disprove the presuppositions, an interview with the pub owner has been conducted.

::5.2. Interview with the Pub Owner

The semi-structured interview with Julian Mullen, the manager and owner of The Claddagh, was based on a set of pre-prepared open-end questions about The Claddagh and its Irishness. It was conducted during two separate meetings and recorded with a digital recording device. During the first meeting on 29th June 2017, which was about twenty minutes long, basic questions were covered. Consequently, the agreement to meet again and set aside some two to three hours for the interview was reached quickly. The second meeting on 25th October 2017 allowed for an informative question and answer session to develop, which was rich in detail and led to unexpected contemplation of previously unnoticed particulars and connections between them. The conversation revealed that fundamentally all the elements identified in the previous chapter are of importance. Due to the emphasis given to individual elements in the interview they have been grouped in a slightly different manner than in the section on personal observations. The ten categories which manifested themselves as crucial to the investigation of Irishness in The Calddagh can thus be determined as the name of the pub, products offered at the bar, habits displayed and performed by staff members, the pub's design and ornamentation, decorative items bearing linguistic features in English, decorative items bearing linguistic features in Gaelic, Irishness, different realisations of music, the staff as such, and the language of communication including Irish English accents.

The conversation evolved along pre-defined areas of interest, beginning with the history of The Claddagh established in 2006. Julian explained that he had been gaining experience in hospitality in numerous places around the world. Upon arriving to Klagenfurt, he met his partner in life. Opening a pub together appeared a reasonable way of creating a meaningful professional life for him. The location was found and within seven weeks the Irish pub was ready to be introduced to customers (Julian Mullen, pers. comm.). Naming it proved to be a demanding task. Eventually, the decision to call it "The Claddagh" was made because of the (hi)story of the ring of Claddagh. It is the story about a couple from the area of Galway known as Claddagh, which is roughly the region Julian comes from. The lovers are separated due to the necessity of making a living. During the man's years-long absence, he learns to manufacture jewellery and creates a special ring. Upon returning to his loyal lover, he presents her with the ring depicting two hands holding a heart adorned by a crown (Mullen, pers. comm.). Julian assessed the story and the meaning of the Claddagh ring to be fitting. He liked "the idea of adapting the symbols" (Mullen, pers. comm.) as for him the hands refer to all the friends who had helped him open the pub, the heart symbolises the love and partnership with his then future wife, and the crown stands for the customers who, as he had hoped, would prove to be loyal patrons. With a pinch of irony, he recalled his regretting to have chosen this name in a German-speaking area, as most people pronounce the actually silent "gh" at the end of "Claddagh" as a /g/-sound (Mullen, pers. comm.).

The Irishness of The Claddagh is, amongst other things, authenticated by the products available at the bar which are either Irish or typically offered in Ireland. The only exception is food products as "I said from day one I would never have pizza" (Mullen, pers. comm.). In Ireland, food is widely available, "so, every pub doesn't need to have a kitchen. But here [...] you have to have food; [...] even if it's three kinds of pizza. [...] It's always been a sore point for me" (Mullen, pers. comm.). This is due to the fact that serving pizza represents a violation of Irish customs. However, the selection of drinks is "all very typical in the bars at home" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Products of non-Irish origin are the result of big companies entering the Irish market and as such common in Ireland (Mullen, pers. comm.). The cider called Bulmers in Ireland is being distributed as Magners abroad and "we got Magners here to Klagenfurt" (Mullen, pers. comm.). In terms of beer "we have all our Irish products, we have Guinness, Kilkenny, and everything" (Mullen, pers. comm.), but there is also Heineken and Puntigamer off the tap. The reason for this is threefold. Firstly, the production and availability of Irish lager has been limited. Secondly, differences in brewing laws account for a different quality of local lager. Thirdly, bureaucratic regulations complicate the import of certain alcoholic beverages (Mullen, pers. comm.). Eventually, it all has to do with "supply and demand, when I think about it, it's the same way in Ireland. [...] Before Harp came around, [...] they also had to take international drinks in to cover the taste palette of all their different clientele; so, I suppose we've stuck true to our word in that one, we've ac-

tually just done the exact same thing" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Even though the selection of drinks is not limited to Irish products, in the pub owner's eyes, The Claddagh is authentic in its fashion of integrating the effects of globalisation which matches the manner of incorporating them present in modern Ireland.

Along with the beverages on offer, habits are an important factor for the creation of Irishness in the pub. Despite the widespread use of the bell for last orders for indicating the approaching closing time in English-speaking countries, it is not applied in such a manner in The Claddagh owing to customers having misused it (Mullen, pers. comm.). Instead, the lights get dimmed to announce last orders since the flashing of lights is another common practice in Ireland (Mullen, pers. comm.). Further, the way drinks are poured is distinctively Irish for the most part. "If it was an English pub, you'd have these pumped taps and it would be bitters", whereas "these are actually taps from Ireland" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Lager is served without the crown on top. "Our job is, as we're used to it in pubs at home, to serve and serve fast and that's what we do" (Mullen, pers. comm.). However, Guinness is poured in "a special way, I even put a shamrock on top of the Guinness, so that's where we sell out a little bit because I do the commercial side of it, because I won't put a shamrock on a Guinness in Ireland, I'll be told 'throw it down the bin and make a fresh one and don't play with it'. So, I do that because in the pubs I worked in England, I had to learn it and it's just a nice little touch people like" (Mullen, pers. comm.). This amounts to a specialty compatible neither with the actual Irish way nor with the Austrian manner of pouring beer and is a clear example of catering to the audience, which expects Irishness to be realised in manifold ways in an Irish pub due to popular culture, even if it is a shamrock on top of a pint of stout. In addition, ordering at the counter constitutes a crucial feature for the fabrication of a typically Irish atmosphere and appears to be one of the decisive factors for the formation of an Irish identity of and within the pub. Julian believes that in an average Austrian restaurant people usually remain social within their group without mingling with other guests, whereas in an Irish pub "these boundaries seem to break down" (Mullen, pers. comm.). One of the reasons could be "direct bar service. Because of that you end up standing at the bar beside some random stranger and because you might be waiting for a minute or two or just because people are in a good mood and, as we say, the tongue is looser because of a couple of drinks, you start chatting to somebody" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Consequently, the assumption and notion that openness is a characteristic part of Irish identity and is traceable in the setting of a pub might be connected to cultural differences in the customary manner of how patrons are being served.

The pub's appearance, too, is partly linked to cultural differences and is the result of a twofold process (Mullen, pers. comm.). Firstly, the basic layout and design of the pub tied to elements such as dark wood, different heights of seating and tables, and dimmed light had been planned and decided upon due to the architecture of the building and owing to what had been known to be effective in other pubs. Second-

ly, vast parts of the smaller details had not been intended and outlined in advance. Instead, they have evolved incrementally. No use has been made of offers by firms such as the Celtic Dragon Pub Company and the Irish Pub Company which provide pub owners around the world with everything they need for a sterile typified pub (Grantham, 2009: 257; McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 83; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 224), as, in the pub owner's opinion, this would have been too expensive and less enjoyable. Materials like the dark wood and items of decoration such as mirrors and an Aran jumper mainly originate from Ireland, partly imported, partly stemming from a collection of personal belongings accumulated over time (Mullen, pers. comm.). The Aran jumper, for instance, was a gift from his mother and it "went up there not as an insult to the present from my mum, but actually just because […] it really represented a piece of Ireland that we were and still are a kind of self-sufficient older generation country, in the sense of working from the land" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Authenticity is meant to derive from the fact that "the bar gets warmer with every item" added and "that's why you do eventually end up with an Irish pub that is absolutely littered with things" (Mullen, pers. comm.). The items spread the famed homelike atmosphere. Additionally, the deliberate construction of Irishness is realised through these objects. Some of them are even put in place solely due to the pub's location in Austria and would not constitute part of the decoration if it were in Ireland. "The leprechaun – I don't think I would have that up, I think that would be a little bit too cheesy" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Similarly, the Celtic cross and the random Irish blessings would only be used if the target audience were tourists, whereas the rugby ball "would definitely be a part in a pub at home because rugby and sports is a heavy thing in Ireland" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Other merchandise is not hung up because it would be inappropriate. "It's not necessarily Irish just because it has a shamrock on it … and some things are offensive. There's some posters and pictures that show Irish people just permanently drunk. Yes, we drink a lot and we do get drunk" (Mullen, pers. comm.), but decor does not need to be offensive. "I can make some jokes about Irish nationality, but other people shouldn't cause it's insulting then. […] We can accept our own flaws, but we don't need them pointed out to us by people that are not in our family" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Thus, Julian touched on the difference between speaking and being spoken about, whereby the latter is problematic due to turning the subject into an object and diminishing the subject's control about the creation of an (auto-)narrative. Or, in other words, identity is projected, even forced onto the initial subject. By displaying concerns about some items' design, Julian clarified that the 'project' of The Claddagh is still in progress and implicitly hinted at the idea that the narrative he wishes to create about the pub and its Irishness is yet unfolding.

Apart from promotional products by Irish companies such as Guinness and items like the Celtic cross statuette, the pub's decor is constituted by written manifestations of the English language. To the pub owner, the quotes written on the arcaded ceiling are especially important. One of Julian's favourites is Oscar Wilde's

aphorism "We're all in the gutter, but some of us are looking at the stars", as he has experienced bad times himself. To his understanding, Wilde's tag points to the importance of remembering the positive things in life and maintaining an optimistic attitude, when experiencing difficult situations. Another handpicked quote is by George Best, a Northern Ireland football player: "I blew hundreds of thousands of pounds on women and drinking – the rest I just squandered". The pub owner "wouldn't necessarily want my son to do the same thing, but I kind of liked it. His point was all the money that he spent on having fun was well spent money, even though there's nothing left to show for it except for memories. Everything else, all the material possessions, like houses and cars – that was wasted money" (Mullen, pers. comm.). John F. Kennedy's epigraph "Forgive your enemies, but never forget their names" is "purposely at the door because that will be that last place a person walks past when they've been told they're not allowed in the bar anymore. It's also the first place they walk past when they're coming in, reminding them before they enter this pub or as they're entering, please, respect the rules" (Mullen, pers. comm.). This refers to the pub owner's general willingness to be forgiving upon mistakes and his firmness in the rejection of customers who behave intolerably (Mullen, pers. comm.). These are just some of the many quotations and appearances of written English in The Claddagh. Stemming from famous Irish people, the quotes also sustain partly stereotypical notions about the Irish national character. They both employ and generate a mute narration of Irishness of and within the pub.

In addition to this collection of quotes in English, there is another type of manifestations of linguistic features, namely items displaying Gaelic. A metal plate above the door reads "Slán", Gaelic for "goodbye", and is adorned with a Celtic knot in the style of The Book of Kells (Mullen, pers. comm.). The latter was written in the eighth century and features the Irish majuscule and graphical particularities characteristic of Celtic artwork (Ó Corráin, 1992: 48; Kiberd, 1992: 279). At the bar, another metal plate welcomes the customers in Gaelic. At this point Julian observed that "as you move on through the pub, there's a very particular font, I don't know why, maybe it's because of all our old signs, they all seem to have this font" (Mullen, pers. comm.). This utterance represents an unreflected emotional attachment to features perceived as Irish. It was followed by the remark that "I'd like to know myself where that was born from because it seems to be very particular to Ireland and for me it's immediate ... the minute I see it, I link it to Ireland" (Mullen, pers. comm.). The Irish minuscule, as this comment reveals, is not being utilised in order to create Irishness deliberately and solely by reinforcing features stereotypically perceived as Irish by uninformed foreign customers. It is used in The Claddagh because native Irish citizens consider it typical of their home country, at times even without knowing about its origin in medieval religious scripts (McGrath, 2007: 216). As such, it is part of the narrative the Irish sustain and retell about themselves. Other objects of decor such as tea towels with various sorts of content, even if mostly in English, display the same typeface. The font for the logo of The

Claddagh was actually purchased as it was supposed to evince "a heavy kind of Celtic look" (Mullen, pers. comm.) yet still be legible. During the interview, Julian was becoming aware of the fact that the Irish minuscule and Celtic imagery subconsciously play a role in his selecting of decor, which he had not noticed before. The sign above the entrance door spelling "Slán" in Times New Roman "would have [had] no interest to" him "if the Celtic design was not above it" (Mullen, pers. comm.). He discerned "it just wouldn't feel Irish" (Mullen, pers. comm.), thus, pointing to the importance of emotions subconsciously present in the mechanisms of national identity and nationness.

Another area which revealed an absence of preceding introspection and reflection proved to be Irishness. Julian had difficulties clearly defining Irishness and attempted to explain it through narratives and myths about past times, also evoking stereotypes. Thus, Irishness is supposed to be tied to previous hardship experienced by the Irish and mirrored in the darkness of the interior of pubs which is dominated by dark wood and dimmed light (Mullen, pers. comm.). "Tragedy usually makes everything Irish. [...] just like the dark wood, actually, there's a darkness in everything" (Mullen, pers. comm.). The dimness in pubs also provides an opportunity to "be hidden away" in "a little safety zone" (Mullen, pers. comm.). According to Julian, most Irish people have experienced hardness. "Nearly every person that, for me, suits the personality of somebody working in the pub, they're always full of humour, but a lot of times it's masking. [...] I'm not saying they're all depressed, but we're used to this. [...] This is how our drinking culture got created in the first place. We were trying to drink away past reality because reality was tough" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Following this logic, the proneness to drunkenness stereotypically associated with the Irish appears to be a coping mechanism for (psychological) distress. When inebriated, "you start laughing and dancing and all these things. The same thing happened when countries tried to occupy us. We used to meet in little houses, [...] this was how people survived and coped, they came together and they told their stories" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Asserting the importance of storytelling as another component stereotypically associated with Irishness, Julian employed a romanticised interpretation of the functions of the early pub and even linked them to the preservation of Gaelic. To his understanding, components such as dark wood and warm light are even more important for the creation and maintenance of Irishness than the Celtic background. A long silence followed the question about his perception of a potential distinction between Irishness and Celticness and the status of the latter as a constituent of the former. "I think the Celtic shows our roots, and I think it's important to always represent your roots, and I've only realised now that's what we're doing, [...] we're representing our true, basic roots. And either side it's showing how we continue to survive and live because, actually, you've made me realise why we put the Celtic symbols up there, [...] we're showing where we come from" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Despite the intended neutrality of the questions asked, they seem to have triggered reflection and enabled novel perspectives on the

latent underlying processes such as the creation and sustenance of narratives about nationness also by means other than language which are present in running a pub.

Conversely, the choice of music is deliberate and thoroughly considered. It is congruous with the music in pubs in Ireland, which consists of three characteristic pillars: background tunes suitable for a relaxed atmosphere, live performances, and ceili sessions (Mullen, pers. comm.). In The Claddagh, the first two types are realised. Different genres can be heard and Irish folk is not as common as a prejudiced customer of an Irish pub might expect. This is due to the fact that folk is not a constitutive trait of pubs in Ireland, as they are not preoccupied with evoking their ties to Celtic culture and constructing Irishness. However, the selection of music in The Claddagh is not coincidental. Distinct playlists are used, each composed according to its intended function and suitable for the style of the pub. Whereas rock, rock/pop, acoustic, and country blues are common genres to be encountered, there are genres like hip-hop and reggae which are avoided as their rhythm, speed, and style would not be appropriate. Music is supposed to serve as background and to subconsciously create a calming ambience. The atmosphere in a pub is meant to be such as to stimulate and facilitate socialising, hence, customers should feel comfortable and not be aware of how loudly they speak (Mullen, pers. comm.). "When there's live music that's different" (Mullen, pers. comm.) as customers visit The Claddagh because of it. It is, as Julian put it simply, "tradition", however this word might be defined. "What the live music is, what genre it is, can be different, but live music belongs to every pub in Ireland. Any pub in Ireland that doesn't do live music, isn't a pub" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Of course, live music with bands is not constantly available and 'visible' at The Claddagh, or any other pub. Usually, it takes place once or maybe twice a week, yet it appears to be a crucial constituent for an establishment's status as a pub. A common feature of pubs in Ireland which is not realised in The Claddagh are ceili sessions. "'Ceili' is the Gaelic way of saying 'traditional Irish music'" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Hence, ceili sessions are get-togethers which allow anybody skilled enough to join in and play traditional Irish music with a small number of fixed musicians. "Nobody will ever be refused to join in, when it's one of these ceili sessions, but the standard is high. I don't have the ceili sessions because I don't have the musicians" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Thus, a specific kind of music is a critical feature of an Irish pub. Without trying to force into existence the Irishness of the pub by relying exclusively on Irish folk music, the creation of playlists and organisation of live bands follows the customs in Ireland.

Another way of ensuring the Irishness of The Claddagh is the nearly exclusive employment of Irish staff. Julian does not try to conceal the fact that this employment policy takes into account the discrimination against nationality and that this is an example of "discrimination in the work market" (Mullen, pers. comm.). In order to hire new staff, the job is advertised in the media in Ireland. In favour of this practice Julian argues that "if I owned an IT-company, am I discriminating if all I want to do is hire IT-people?" which discloses his understanding of Irish descent or

nationality, respectively, as an element of qualification necessary for successfully working in an Irish pub. "One thing I don't do is I don't discriminate against age, I don't discriminate against gender, I don't discriminate against experience [...]. I will take somebody with zero experience also, but if I have a choice between hiring a person with Irish nationality or non-Irish nationality, I will always take the Irish nationality first" (Mullen, pers. comm.). The rationale behind this practise is twofold. Firstly, "the Irish are famous for having the craic, it's all supposed to be about some fun" (Mullen, pers. comm.), which is observable also in the interactions between the staff and the customers. "There's a lot of banter, as we call it", which allows for the Irish "to curse, we can tell somebody to F off, but do it with a smile" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Hence, neither Julian nor his staff members deliberately enact or perform an Irish self. Secondly, his employees originate "from different parts of Ireland, so every dialect and accent is different between each member of staff and with this comes different personalities" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Due to the pub functioning as a hub for expatriates, the exaggerated performance of national selves does seem to occur, if only in guests who "become very patriotic" and "are actually overly forcing their accent" (Mullen, pers. comm.). This is prevented amongst staff members as they are asked to "start being aware of our speech" (Mullen, pers. comm.). That being so, the reason for Julian to highly value Irish staff members is mainly but not exclusively connected to language.

Notwithstanding the importance of all other aspects, spoken English ensured by Irish staff seems to be the main and decisive factor of the authentic Irishness of The Claddagh. Frequently, new customers would begin speaking German with the staff, but "we speak English and they tell us, in German, 'I speak German.' [...] they do that [...] because they assume that we are Austrian people speaking English" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Therefore, the motto of The Claddagh reads "we're not original, we're just real" which problematises the notion of originality in connection with other (so-called) Irish pubs outside of Ireland. "Nearly every Irish pub in Austria says 'Original Irish Pub' outside and when you walk in, it's very rare that you actually meet an Irish person working in it" (Mullen, pers. comm.). In addition, according to Julian, most pubs in Austria are in the possession of an Austrian owner, which in itself is not supposed to be as problematic as non-Irish staff. To prevent equalisation with this variety of 'Irish' pubs, The Claddagh distances itself from the concept of originality estranged by the numerous bars not holding up to Julian's and other customers' expectations. Yet, reportedly, people's utterances occasionally reveal wrong ideas of what an Irish pub is, in which case a rectification of potential misconceptions is attempted (Mullen, pers. comm.). Consequently, The Claddagh is supposed to be a place where customers are taught about Irish culture and customs including the use of English as the language of communication. To adhere to the notion of authenticity, Julian and his staff try to import from Ireland as much as possible. "When we originally opened, we brought all our work shirts from Ireland, just to have it [...] one hundred percent Irish, and this is the massive differ-

ence between original and real" (Mullen, pers. comm.). To his understanding, "what makes an Irish pub an Irish pub is the flair" (Mullen, pers. comm.). The latter, in turn, "is the atmosphere created by the people in there and a lot of that atmosphere originally generates from the staff working behind the bar; and if your staff are not Irish, [...] they cannot [...] say the same thing. An Irish person can say a bad word, can curse, and it come across okay, [...] but if, for example, an Austrian worker in an Irish pub curses, says 'oh, fuck that', it doesn't sound the same" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Essentially, this means that, in an Irish pub, English as the second official and wider spoken language of Ireland (Moriarty 2014, 465) should be used as a natural means of communication and the employees should fake neither their first language and descent, nor their manner of speaking. To put it in other words, the interview with the pub owner gives grounds for the conclusion that a truly Irish pub should be grounded in the interconnectedness between the language of communication, the staff members' nationality, and their Irish accent(s).

Concerning the last three segments, namely the different realisations of music, the staff, and the language of communication, the pub owner observed "it's difficult to explain, but every culture is different and we don't have to fake it, it's just real" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Interestingly, these three elements were emphasised more by the pub owner than visible features. In order to examine how the components constituting the pub's essence as an Irish pub are noticed and perceived by its customers, the following section will address the answers obtained in short interviews with first-time visitors and patrons.

::5.3. Mini-Interviews with Customers

The semi-structured mini-interviews with customers were conducted during two separate visits to The Claddagh. The selection of interview partners was grounded on the intention of including respondents of different sexes and ages and on the assessment of their assumed willingness to take part in this case study based on first impressions. Altogether, ten respondents were approached, nine of which confirmed their preparedness to spare about five minutes and answer questions about the pub. Twice, the customers interviewed were by themselves, another two times they were in the company of one respective companion, and once a group of three was approached, all between approximately twenty and fifty years of age. Apart from one couple who came to Klagenfurt as tourists, all interview partners deemed themselves patrons visiting The Claddagh on a regular basis. Some respondents' answers partly confirmed this paper's thesis, others refuted it. Three subjects had not been aware of the single components contributing to the pub's Irishness, yet were able to identify a small number of them when asked. The other six interviewees' awareness of the individual constituents' function had been rather strong, in three cases the components' interplay even proved to be the reason for the respondents to come to The Claddagh.

Three of the customers interviewed had not discerned and differentiated the visibility and deliberate fabrication of Irishness in its singularity. One of the two subjects who visited the pub on his own identified himself as a patron who had been coming to The Claddagh on a regular basis since 2015. The 38-year-old had difficulties naming specific aspects of decoration or other features that could contribute to the notion of authenticity, but mentioned a pleasant clientele, the Irish pub owner, kind Irish staff, and the smoker-friendly attitude as the main reasons for him to visit the pub frequently. Later, he mentioned that the pub's appearance had been "created with love" and that both live-music and the use of English as the language of communication add to the notion of Irishness. The second patron heedless of the visible components that help shaping Irishness in the pub was one of those customers who were accompanied by a companion. The 25-year-old had not taken notice of the decoration at all. Similarly to the 38-year-old subject, he identified the pleasant atmosphere, friendly staff, and familiar faces as main reasons for coming to The Claddagh regularly. However, differently to the 38-year-old, he claimed to feel neutral about the use of English. The third subject who had not been aware of the visibly perceptible constructed-ness of Irishness in The Claddagh was one of the companions from the group of three between twenty and thirty years old who had been to Ireland already. Authenticity, in his opinion, plays a role, yet it proved difficult for him to name individual aspects contributing to it. After a while, he mentioned the hospitable and casual atmosphere, friendly people, and the way staff members interact with customers in interplay with an 'Irish interior' as decisive factors for the pub's Irishness. Even though those three subjects could not identify many individual visible features of Irishness in The Claddagh, the cordial, homelike atmosphere and friendliness of staff and customers had been spotted by all of them.

Six of the respondents perceived and distinguished the intentional creation of Irishness in the singularity of individual segments. One of the customers who were in the pub by themselves mentioned several reasons for coming to The Claddagh once or twice per month: live music, the "good atmosphere, pleasant and Irish" and the positive connotations of Irish culture. The 38-year-old named numerous features constituting the Irishness of the pub, amongst them the sayings on the walls, "the pleasant wood", whiskey bottles along the walls, Irish beer, and the green colour in the bar area. Despite valuing the representation of Irish culture in the pub, she stated feeling indifferent about the usage of English as the language of communication. The couple who visited the pub as tourists, both about 50 years of age, mentioned the uncomplicatedness of any Irish pub, Irish music, Kilkenny, Irish English, quotes on the walls, whiskey bottles, and tea towels as decisive factors for the pub's Irishness. One of the customers who were there in company referred to the homelike feeling, a notion of nostalgia, the "beautiful story of the Claddagh ring", "typical Irish symbols" and decoration, dark wood, music and the use of English as elements of Irishness. However, like her 25-year-old companion, the 27-year-old woman had the impression that those components were difficult to identify. Fi-

nally, two patrons from the group of three proved to be aware of the decoration and listed empty bottles of whiskey and the green colour, the music, "rusticity, non-modernity", and "honesty" as the constituents of Irishness. One of these two subjects also mentioned the authenticity established through the use of English. The other displayed extensive knowledge about the history of the Claddagh ring and its meanings, despite having never been to Ireland. Thus, the music, the use of English and visible elements including the empty bottles of whiskey, the colour green, and quotes on the walls have turned out to be elements noticed frequently.

The findings of this case study may not be representative without reservation, but the results were unexpected nevertheless. The limitations of the study are at least twofold. On the one hand, the fairly low number of respondents diminishes the representative extent of the results. On the other hand, the questions directed at the respondents were designed to avoid suggestive undertones which, however, might have led to incomplete observations on the interviewees' end as 'Celtic' or 'Celticness', for instance, were not even mentioned once. Surprisingly, the majority of The Claddagh's customers were able to identify a significant number of features and elements contributing to the construction of Irishness through palpable and non-palpable means. There were constituents which had been taken notice of more often and which thus appear to play an important role in the perception and popularity of the pub on the consuming end. Even more astonishingly, these components as singled out by the customers are mostly of intangible quality.

::6. DISCUSSION

::6.1. Interpretation and Evaluation of the Field Study

The aim of this research project was to investigate the validity of the hypothesis that the intentional and planned construction of Irishness by means of certain features such as 'visible' language both utilises and creates a 'typically Irish' identity of and within The Claddagh, but is not being noticed in the singularity of individual elements by its customers. Hence, the main objective was to disclose a link between evidences of written English and Gaelic and traces of Irish culture, the thereby created Irishness of the pub and everything in it, and the popularity of the establishment amongst patrons grounded in this solely subconsciously perceived interplay between language, nationness, and identity. Unexpectedly, none of the premises could be affirmed in their entirety.

All three segments of the hypothesis require refinement if not rectification. The assumed intentionality and deliberate planning of the construction of Irishness could not be substantiated. The interview with the pub owner uncovered that only a small number of the pub's characteristics such as the general interior design had been planned deliberately. The vast majority of details, however, had not been intended and arranged for in advance. Especially objects of decoration like the Celt-

ic cross which partly also allude to the Celtic past of Ireland or the quotes on the ceilings and the metal plates with inscriptions which constitute manifestations of English or Gaelic have been accumulated incrementally. As a result, coincidence plays a role in the evolvement of the pubs appearance. Nevertheless, these objects are deliberately used to communicate Irishness. Simultaneously, there are items such as the menu which are meant to not only evoke Irishness and make use of stereotypes but also to inform customers about the culture of Ireland and, by extension, the pub. The presumption of the customers' unawareness of what they expose themselves to in detail mostly, too, proved to be wrong. The majority of the respondents was capable of naming several individual visual components contributing to the Irishness of The Claddagh. Some of them also stressed the impalpable elements such as the live music events taking place on a regular basis, whereby they hinted at the relative unimportance of tangible items for the Irishness of the pub. While this research and the scrutinisation of the pub initially focused on the visibility and visualisation of Irishness in The Claddagh, the interview with the pub owner and, even more so, the mini-interviews with the customers showed that, at least on a conscious level, intangible components such as music are of greater significance. These impalpable elements seem to contribute to the atmosphere which influences yet also derives from the interaction between the people in the pub. Interestingly, in other studies, the intuitionally sensed relevance of all the impalpable constituents contributing to the ambience has mostly been identified by Irish subjects rather than respondents of other nationalities (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 231). The implications of these findings are twofold. On the one hand they suggest the need for an adjustment of the focus of the study away from the visibility of Irishness towards the more latent intangible and invisible elements contributing to Irishness, on the other hand they impart that, contrary to the initial believe, Celtic heritage, which is manifested solely in palpable objects scattered around the pub, is of minor importance for present-day Irishness.

As the field study has revealed, the most significant elements which constitute the experience of Irishness in The Claddagh are tied to the intangible atmosphere created by the Irish staff members and their use of English as the language of communication. Blommaert and Varis (2015) claim that "[a] pub which is so Irish that customers are required to speak English in order to get their orders passed, [...] would not be too long in business in a town such as Zottegem" (13). A quick online-research has shown that the culturally fairly homogeneous town of Klagenfurt is about four times the size of Zottegem (Service public fédéral Intérieur, 2018), therefore the town's potentially even less significant cultural diversity might account for the suggested unwillingness of Zottegem's pub-goers to accept English as the language of communication. Speculations aside, the interviews with customers of The Claddagh demonstrated that not only do they not mind the usage of English, most of them even value this custom as a contribution to the pub's Irishness and authenticity. This does not mean that the patrons switch to English also in their con-

versations with friends. German is still the most commonly heard language in the pub. Nevertheless, in accordance with the pub owner's assertion, The Claddagh seems to be a well-accepted meeting point also for non-German-speaking customers, as, compared to other establishments in Klagenfurt, people of different nationalities can be encountered frequently. Based on the suggested importance of informality in themed environments (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999: 236), the general acceptance of English as the mode of expression might be explained by the fact that through the absence of the German "Sie", that is the formal "you", a more informal atmosphere is established. As former research has maintained (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 83–84; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 224) and Julian has confirmed, the atmosphere is of crucial importance for the production and consumption of a good pub-experience. Consequently, the use of English as a language of communication mixed with the thereby established informal context of interaction and the alleged openness of Irish bar staff seem to be the main factors of what is deemed to be Irishness amongst customers.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to claim that Celtic heritage is utterly irrelevant to the construction of the Irish identity of The Claddagh and the people and material as well as immaterial occurrences in it. As discernible from the interview, the pub owner feels strongly about items such as the metal plates featuring "céad míle fáilte" and the equivalent of the Gaelic word for "goodbye" beneath an image of a Celtic knot from The Book of Kells. While talking about these objects, he began to develop awareness for the role the Irish minuscule and Celtic imagery subconsciously play in his selection of decorative items. Notwithstanding these observations, he assessed the narrative about past hardships and the darkness and warmth of pubs along with certain habits to be of greater importance for Irishness than the (manifestations of) Celtic past and heritage. Therefore, it would be too easy an equation to make that the Irish are Celts and vice-versa. The Irish are of Celtic descent, yet there used to be different inhomogeneous groups of Celts whose descendants and cultural and artefactual remains can be traced in various parts of Europe (Edwards and Macpherson, 2001). The common assumption that the Celts as a homogeneous group of people stem from Central Europe (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 81) has started being contested by recent findings which suggest that biologically, unlike linguistically and culturally, the insular Celts are not related to what would be considered the Celts in Central Europe (Edwards and Macpherson, 2001: 36.15–50.17). Hence, the expression 'Celts' is a broad term which includes more than just 'Irish'. Undeniably, the Gaelic language and traces of Celtic culture are still present in Ireland, thus influencing the discursively created 'roots' and national identity of the Irish people. This explains the constant recurrence of Gaelic and Celtic symbols in Irish pubs such as The Claddagh even if they are not deemed as important for the pub's Irishness neither by the pub owner nor its patrons. After all, the objects of decor are visible manifestations of the narrative the Irish people have created about their national identity, thus reflecting but also generating and promoting it.

The Gaelic language and Celtic symbols along with other items of decoration not only reflect and generate Irishness but also serve its commodification. Despite the absence of premeditate planning, the construction of Irishness through the objects in the pub is deliberate, which is demonstrated by the display of artefacts only present due to the pub's location outside of Ireland. These items include, as was shown in the results section, the Irish blessings and the leprechaun as well as the Celtic cross. Stereotypically, such symbols have come to be representative of Ireland and Irish culture around the world due to popular and market-generated culture (Lego et al., 2002: 70–71; Negra, 2006b; Casey, 2006: 84). As other research has shown, however, they are not much taken notice of by Irish people (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 229) and are clearly being utilised to pander to popular images about the Irish and fulfil expectations of non-Irish customers. Thereby, the conceptions people of other nationalities have about the Irish, their culture, and Irishness are taken up and mirrored back to the non-Irish customers. Or in other words, what is supposed to be Irishness in the non-Irish consumers' perception is adopted, if only superficially, by the Irish pub owner and re-projected into The Claddagh. Basically, this represents how identity is formed through discourse and the discursive qualities of written language and symbols. To put it simply, the idea someone has about their Self is constantly being amended by the idea the Other has about this very Self, which, in consequence, means that identity is never stable and needs to be continuously discursively (re)negotiated through the narrative about the Self (Praprotnik, 1999: 153). Despite the emotional value of some features of the decor such as the Irish minuscule and Celtic designs, which Julian confirmed, the various tangible, palpable objects are mainly decoration to the understanding of the pub owner and the customers. However, the Irish minuscule, symbols of Ireland, and even the fact that next to the pub's name it says "est. 2006" all evoke a long past and create some sort of constructed continuity. Tradition, in the end, is just another form of narrative that adds to the formation of national identity. Therefore, on a subconscious level, these artefacts are important to the formation of the Irishness of The Claddagh and its content, including the people who interact with the surroundings. At length, the concept of the pub only works through "an artful combination of artifacts and experiences (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 225). The thereby constructed Irishness is part of what customers consume along with the beverages they pay for and a constituent of the overall experience they are provided with upon visiting The Claddagh.

::6.2. Contextualisation of Outcomes

The deductions presented in the previous chapter require further contextualisation in order to fully understand the mechanics of the phenomenon 'Irish pub' investigated in this case study. In particular, three questions are still in need of clarification. Firstly, Celticness and Irishness are not interchangeable as the field study

and revision of existing research have shown. As affirmed by the pub owner, Celtic heritage is deemed to be of lesser importance to Irishness than other factors. Why, then, are both the Celtic and the Irish identity evoked in an Irish pub? Secondly, The Claddagh as an Irish pub is an example of engineered reality (Solomon and Englis, 1994: 1) and a realisation of a themed environment (Lego et al., 2002: 62; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 223). What, though, are the characteristics of an ethnically themed environment (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999: 242–243) and why is Irish theming so common? Thirdly, Irish pubs such as The Claddagh are highly frequented establishments. What are the reasons of their popularity amongst customers?

As mentioned above, Celtic and Irish identity cannot be equated. The 'Celts' is a wide-ranging expression which includes the Continental as well as the Insular Celts and these likewise broad terms are collective names for peoples such as the Irish. Many of the ideas surrounding the term 'Celts' lack evidence, which is partly due to deficient written history (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 82). A wide interest in all things Celtic has been driven forward by the so-called 'Celtic Revival' of the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Gibson, Trower and Tregidga, 2013: 3–4) which originated in the "need for the Irish to remove [...] negative stereotypes by reclaiming their own past" (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 43). Different studies draw on various sources, yet the recurring stereotypes about a diverse conglomerate of people such as the Celtic seem oddly repetitive (Gibson, Trower and Tregidga, 2013: 7). Thus, recurring expressions referring to the Celtic used to be "childlike, effemized by unreasoning spirituality and doomed to nostalgic impotence" (7), "less energetic, less independent, less industrious" (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 43), and "carefree, approximate, [...] dangerous and mystical" (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 82). By now, these stereotypes have been overcome due to their reappropriation through Celtic nationalism (Gibson, Trower and Tregidga, 2013: 8) and, in consequence, the Irish have become a popular ethnic group. As a nation, the Irish have accepted their roots to be in their Celtic past, nevertheless, the creation of a national identity has not been easy. The main factor influencing the difficulties in creating an identity can be located in their history as a postcolonial country (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 43), even though other studies suggest that the need to protect and preserve the Gaelic language (Featherstone, 2009: 3) and the threat of oppression actually fuel nationalism and the construction of a national identity (Kumar, 2010: 478). Strenuous or not, like any other nation, the Irish one, too, is an imagined, invented, and created community (Anderson, 2005: 49) which manifests itself by means of the discursive, performative shaping of reality underlying any process of identity formation. Because of its discursive nature and, exceptionally strongly also, owing to the unique history of significant emigration into other parts of the world (Foster, 1992: 203–204; Fitzpatrick, 1992: 213), the Irish national identity as well as Irishness is a slippery concept. As such, however, it is adaptable and transferable (Negra, 2006b). Moreover, it is unproblematic since the Irish as a postcolonial na-

tion are not associated with the role of the oppressor (Negra, 2006a: 363) and function as an "underdog" in historical terms (Eagan, 2006: 51). As a result, Irishness is operative as a "moral antidote to contemporary ills" (Negra, 2006b: 3). Despite Celticness and Irishness not being interchangeable, they are connected through the still spoken Gaelic language, relics of Celtic culture, and, most importantly, the narrative about the Irish nation as the descendant of Celtic ancestors. In order to preserve and continue this (hi)story which is supported by the general agreeableness of the Irish and the accessibility of Irishness, Irish pubs such as The Claddagh deploy both identities.

Like nations and identities, themed establishments such as pubs are based on the imagination and creation of a narrative which, ultimately, becomes what is considered to be reality and which nowadays in many instances involves Irishness. To go even further, similar to nations and identities, themed establishments are the product of "reality engineering", whereby the only difference is that the engineering of reality in the case of themed establishments is controlled by marketers whose aim is to create "communications environments" to "influence consumers' perception of social reality" (Solomon and Englis, 1994: 1). These "'socially constructed, built environments [...] are designed to serve as containers for commodified human interaction'" and as the materialised image of culture they "'are aimed at investing constructed spaces with symbolic meaning and at conveying that meaning to inhabitants and users through symbolic motifs'" (Gottdiener quoted in Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 223). Or in other words, a pub such as The Claddagh is an engineered, constructed place which is designed to commodify its customers' interactions by embedding them in the pub's interior lumbered with symbolic cultural decor that, in turn, is supposed to influence the customers' involvement with each other. While an Irish pub can be reminiscent of a theme park also with negative implications (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 47; Negra, 2006b: 9), differences in furnishing establishments with specific topics should not be disregarded. Basically, there are four types of design, namely reliquary, parodic, ethnic, and reflexive theming (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999: 240–243). In the creation of an environment with a distinct concept one or more of these approaches can be used and combined in various ways. The Irish pub is a clear example of an ethnically themed establishment grounded in "the use of ethnic art, decor, music, external facade, name, and various stereotyped signals" (242), yet can, at times, display parodic theming which is based on fake artefacts (241). In the case of The Claddagh, apart from ethnic theming also features of reliquary and reflexive theming are present. The Aran jumper could be seen as an example of a "precious artefact[...] of known provenance" (240), whereas the reoccurrence of the pub's logo functions as a theming utensil itself (243). It should be noted that consumers are aware of the constructed-ness of such environments and visit them deliberately (251), as the field study in The Claddagh has confirmed. With regard to the globally popular Irish pub, the constructed-ness of its Irishness has become so popular that the simulated versions have come to oust even the indigenous

pubs in Ireland (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 224). The theming of establishments is based on the creation of a hyperreality by the means of simulacra (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999: 253) and it seems that the thereby idealised variations of indigenous pubs are preferred by customers (Lego et al., 2002: 72). The reasons for the worldwide presences of Irish themed products such as pubs must be searched in the emergence of the Celtic Tiger and the notion of Ireland as "a new frontier for American and global business" (Negra, 2006b: 10). The unproblematic postcolonial national identity of the Irish serves as a legitimisation of whiteness and is as such highly marketable (Negra, 2006a: 355–356). This only partly explains why an Irish pub should be so successful in a place such as Klagenfurt where whiteness is not problematised at large by society.

Irish pubs as a form of a themed environment are popular amongst customers for several reasons. Even if the knowledge about Ireland and the Irish is at a minimum and mainly informed by popular culture, Irishness is perceived as agreeable because it is unproblematic. This is especially true when Irishness is contrasted with Englishness, Britishness, or Americanness, all of which can be contested due to the role of the oppressor frequently assumed during history. Additionally, owing to significant dimensions of Irish emigration, many Irish people and people who claim Irish descent are scattered all around the world (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 81). Instead of causing feelings of annoyance or displeasure, the Irish and Irishness are regarded as "'unthreatening and familiar'" (Cheng quoted in Negra, 2006b: 2). Most importantly, however, Irish pubs such as The Claddagh bring people together and are an opportunity for escapism. Within the boundaries of a pub, customers can escape their boring everyday and engage in interactions which differ from those in other settings (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999: 250, 254). While consuming the setting of the pub and the interactions with other customers together with their drinks, patrons create a new identity (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 225). They become part of "a story that is continually retold in countless adaptations" (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 47), continue the tradition of storytelling and thereby uphold the narrative about Irishness. By entering the pub and engaging with and contributing to the narrative about Irishness and absorbing it along with their beverages, customers create a positively marked pub-identity which is enjoyable yet only existent and operative within the context of the pub.

::7. CONCLUSION

All three parts of this paper's hypothesis have, at least in part, been repudiated. The initial focus on the visibility of Irishness constructed in The Claddagh has turned out to be too partial. Owing to the too narrow focus, insufficient attention was directed towards impalpable, intangible features which have been recognised as decisive factors for a pub to be deemed an Irish pub. Based on the interview with the pub owner, a shift of attention has been undertaken and, in addition to visible

elements, intangible components contributing to the pub's Irishness have been taken into consideration. More specifically, apart from visible constituents such as written marks of English or Gaelic, also features like the atmosphere deriving from the presence of Irish staff members and the resulting usage of English as the language of communication have been explored. Unexpectedly, the interview disclosed that despite The Claddagh's inherent quality as a pub marketing its Irishness, Celtic heritage is of minor significance to this procedure. Regardless of the pub's essence as a commercial institution which commodifies its cultural origin and background, many of the processes for the construction of the central notion of originality or 'realness', are happening latently and unintentionally. Presuming the speculative existence of distinctively Celtic ways of marketing (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 86) grounded in a "lack of strategic consciousness" (84) as plausible, this notion could also be applied to The Claddagh. In this sense, The Claddagh is arguably truer to the pubs in Ireland than could have been expected due to its location in Austria and its dependence on marketing its cultural and national identity. After all, marketing nationness can result in the consistent strategic appropriation thereof, as, for instance, in the case of the globally operating Irish Pub Company (83). National identity, or nationness, is perceived subconsciously when deemed 'normal' in a certain environment because of its unreflected everyday presence. As soon as it is juxtaposed to occurrences which mark it as unusual, as would typically happen in an establishment like the Irish pub where items, habits, or ideas are taken out of their usual surroundings and placed into another context, nationness tends to be discerned. Once it has been noticed, it can be utilised for various reasons, including commerce. The perception of The Claddagh's 'unusual' Irishness has been confirmed by the mini-interviews with the pub's customers. The majority of them, contrary to prior expectations, in fact are aware of the elements which contribute to the construction of Irishness. Not less surprisingly, they proved to pay attention mainly to impalpable components as intended by the pub owner. Nevertheless, the visible elements which influence their pub experience unnoticed, play an important role for the formation of the pub's status as an Irish pub. Only the combination of tangible and intangible elements, the interplay between setting and people ultimately constitutes a pleasant consumer experience which invites the customers to interact with their surroundings. Thereby, they create a positively marked pub-identity which only exists and operates within the boundaries of the Irish pub. This pub-identity, in turn, absorbs the intended Irishness of the pub and ensures the continuance of the narrative, which accounts for the popularity of an Irish pub such as The Claddagh in a town like Klagenfurt and elsewhere.

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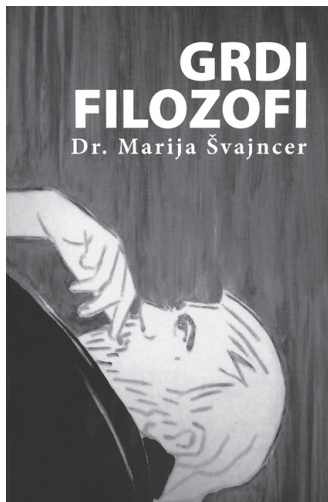
RECENZIJA

REVIEW

Cvetka Hedžet Tóth

MARIJA ŠVAJNCER (2018): *GRDI FILOZOFI*, KULTURNI CENTER, MARIBOR

::DOBROVOLJNI IN ZLOBNI ŠKRATI HKRATI

Etika je v preteklosti domala obsedeno raziskovala dobro, celo kot svojo pracelico, bolj nema pa je bila o tem, kaj je zlo, ki ga je v naših življenjih toliko. Delo Marije Švajncer z naslovom *Esej o zlu*, izšlo že leta 2002, je razmišljanje o zlu, ki ponekod izhaja iz zdravorazumskih razmišljanj in ne samo iz strogo pojmovne logike. Predvsem jo zanima 20. stoletje, ki izrazito izstopa z vsesplošnim izbruhom zla, in avtorici velja prisluhniti. Torej: kako prepoznamo in doživljamo zlo?

Zlo je povezano z nasiljem oziroma nasilje je zlo, in že na prvih straneh opozarja na privlačnost budizma, na religijo brez boga in nasilja. V nas, ljudeh, je nasilje: mnogi so zasvojeni z mamili, drugi sami s seboj. Viri zla nastajajo sproti, nepredvidljivo, in avtorica, ki se zavzema za možnost filozofske refleksije zla oziroma za predmet »filozofske obravnave«, postavlja vprašanje, »kaj pravzaprav pomeni zlo kot dejstvo in predvidevanje«.[1] Tako v svojstvenem jeziku nakaže dve najbolj temeljni komponenti, ko gre za zlo. Prva je vsekakor naša takojšnja zmožnost zlo prepoznati oziroma odčitavati zlo kot dejstvo. Filozofska refleksija naj bo kot alarmni sistem, ki takšno sposobnost neguje.

Visoko vprašanje vse etike *kaj storiti* meri po avtorici na predvidevanje, in v tem je druga pomembna komponenta. Kajti ko gre za etično ravnanje, je treba upoštevati, da moramo predvideti posledice dejanja v prihodnosti, povezanega z našo konkretno odločitvijo. Vsaka situacija je enkratna in nepredvidljiva in odgovornost je velika, kajti *kaj storiti* vključuje tudi *odločiti se je treba*. In pred vprašanjem *kaj moramo storiti* stojimo v vsakem trenutku in vemo, da posledice vseh odločitev, vključno s krivdo, nosimo samo mi sami. Zlo je etična kategorija predvsem zato, ker gre za človeško odločitev in dejanje, naravna katastrofa seveda pomeni nekaj drugega.

Dragocena plat *Eseja o zlu* je v tem, ker opozarja na specifičnost zla, namreč na to, da »zlo nima bistva in ga ni mogoče verificirati, toda nihče ne more zanikati, da se ni dogodilo«.[2] Sodobni francoski filozof, raziskovalec zla Philippe Fontaine (r. 1948) pa v delu *Vprašanje zla* ugotavlja, da je »izkustvo zla prvo opozorilo zavesti«,[3]

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[1] Marija Švajncer: *Esej o zlu*, Znanstveno in publicistično središče, Ljubljana 2002, str. 8.

[2] Prav tam, str. 9.

[3] Prav tam.

navaja Švajncerjeva po njem. Ta del je zanimiv, ker je glede na táko razumevanje vprašanje zla celo prvo, temeljno vprašanje filozofije in ni »samo izkustveno«, ampak še ontološko, čisto bivanjsko, »doživljeno v posebni situaciji«.[4]

O tem, kaj je zlo in kako ga dojeti avtorica *Eseja o zlu* razpravlja z različnih vidikov in usmeritev, gre bodisi za problem, pojav, afirmacijo, negacijo, vrednostni pristop, za deskriptivnega, normativnega itd. Delo je zanimivo branje tudi zato, ker nas seznanja z vrsto imen, ki obravnavajo zlo, in pri tem Švajncerjeva zelo dobro prikaže vsebino del avtorjev, ki jo usmerjajo v njenih lastnih razmišljanjih. Ne naseda modnim filozofom, kakor je razumeti iz njene drže, in je hkrati zelo dovzetna za problemsko usmerjene mislece. Popularizira njihova imena znotraj naše filozofije in tu ji gre priznanje.

Toda kaj, če filozofi sami povzročajo zlo, delajo krivico in s svojo praviloma zelo nestrpno kritiko ne dokazujejo kaj humanega? Filozofi so iz mnogoličnega in večbarvnega stekla. Izredno občutljivi in ranljivi so, nepredvidljivi, nestrpni, tudi zelo zamerljivi. Njihova dela beremo selektivno, namenoma prezremo to in ono, kar je grdo. Tudi krivični smo lahko v svoji razlagi in razumevanju kakšnega filozofa, kajti pogosto ponotranjamo razlago, ki je izrazito velelna, izključevalna, izločevalna, celo diskriminacijska in že skoraj kot osebni linč. Zelo dolgo smo to počeli z Nietzschejem, vendar nas je on sam pripeljal do spoznanja, da nočemo nič več sprejemati skozi neko ustaljeno razlago, ki je povrhu še nekritična in pogosto dogmatska.

Preveč smo dovzetni tudi za politični interes, ki je lahko tudi izključevalen, diskriminacijski, in tako delo *Grdi filozofi* (2018) opozarja, da beseda, ki je v filozofiji izrečena in poglavitna, »dobi moč, da lahko tudi ubija«,[5] še posebej takrat, ko jo nefilozofi jemljejo preveč dobesedno. Res je, da filozofi znajo biti zelo nestrpni v svoji kritiki drugačnih nazorov, in gorje, če jim kdo reče, da kdaj pa kdaj nimajo prav. Včasih se zdi, kot da nekateri, skoraj že večina, ne morejo razmišljati drugače, kot da vse prejšnje filozofije, še posebej pa filozofe, pri katerih so se izšolali, neprizanesljivo kritizirajo. Bojimo se užaljenih filozofov, maščevalni so, obrekljivi. Še huje je takrat, ko svojo prizadetost spolitizirajo. Filozofi zelo težko sprejemajo drugačnost in različnost, vsa dialoškost je pogosto sredstvo za samopoveličevanje in narcisoidnost. Kritika prehaja v žalitve, poniževanje, represijo.

Filozofi smo lahko škrati in jegulje: prvi se skrivajo, so v ozadju, jih pa čutimo, jegulja, ta »simbolna riba filozofov«, je izmuzljiva, stalno se ovija in zvija tako, da je niti ne moremo prijeti, »spretno polzi čez nevarne globine; vse požre, pa je vendar ni kaj prida; ne pogine niti zaradi močne zunanje niti notranje nesnage«.[6] Takšni smo filozofi zelo pogosto, kajti da bi preživeli, moramo taktizirati − to je preživetveni imperativ. Nekaj malega od tega nas je naučil Sokratov zgled in nikomur nočemo več, tako kot nekoč Sokrat, dajati povoda, da bi se to še kdaj zgodilo. Morda tu nismo vedno zgledni.

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[4] Prav tam, str. 11.

[5] Marija Švajncer: *Grdi filozofi*, Kulturni center, Maribor 2018, str. 47.

[6] Gerhard Funke: *Bestiarium philosophicum*, Bouvier Verlag, Bonn 1976, str. 7.

Kakor koli že, brez filozofije in filozofov ne gre. Švajncerjeva poudarja, da so filozofi »za dogajanje v sodobnem svetu soodgovorni«,[7] in merila za vrednotenje, »kdaj imamo opraviti z grdim filozofom, so etične in politične vrste«[8]. Slabo, zlo spremlja našo zgodovino ves čas, razvoj tehnike danes omogoča povsem nova sredstva za nastajanje zla, ki človeka na moderen način obvladujejo, si povsem podrejajo, tako recimo zdajšnja računalniška tehnika. To so manipulativni mehanizmi, za katere nimamo učinkovitih sredstev iz preteklosti, kako jih obvladovati, saj so povsem novi.

Po tej plati delo *Grdi filozofi* podobno kot pred tem *Esej o zlu* opozarja na potrebo znati vsak trenutek prepoznati zlo, alarmirati v hipu, in ravno v tem negativnem izrekanju je refleksijsko poslanstvo filozofije. Ne moremo z gotovostjo trditi, kaj je prav, kaj svoboda, vendar je v trenutku treba pokazati na to, kar je slabo, zlo, krivica, nepravičnost, in še bolj kritično to povedati takrat, ko je svoboda ogrožena, ker smo očitno soočeni s pojavom nesvobode. Ko izginja svoboda, izginja tudi spontanost, in ljudje se začnejo bati. S strahom in grozo prežeti človek dojema stvari čisto drugače kot ta, ki je svoboden. Totalitarizmi vseh vrst in v vseh časih so mojstrsko obvladovali strahovladje. Tam, kjer je bil svet svobode podhranjen, so filozofi pisali zelo nerazumljivo, nesproščeno in komplicirano, povsem drugače kot v svetu, kjer je bila svoboda malo bolj navzoča, in še danes vidimo očitno razliko med tem, kako pišejo nemški filozofi v primerjavi s tistimi iz romanskega in angleško pišočega sveta.

V sodobnem času smo soočeni z nepreglednim številom filozofij, ki za prestiž konkurirajo kar na svetovnem trgu boja za resnico. Kot da bi filozofija postajala antifilozofija, kajti zdi se nam, da je resnice preveč ali celo, kot pravi Boris Groys, »da resnica ne obstaja«.[9] Na prepihu nevezanosti od absolutov takšne in drugačne vrste opažamo pretok imen vseprek, in če bi nekoč bilo še nemogoče, zdaj celo kak slovenski filozof ali slovenska filozofinja, podobno kot Peter Sloterdijk, opozarja, da *fast food* po cenovno nizkih restavracijah dokazuje, kako učinkuje kot univerzalizem mnogo bolj uspešno kot pa vsi še tako versko nabiti fundamentalizmi. Zaradi slednjih ljudje v svetu umirajo, širi se terorizem, nestrpnost in občutek ogroženosti – in kako globalizacijsko miroljubno, nekonfliktno ljudje z vsega sveta sedijo v *fast food* restavracijah in v brezskrbnem miru uživajo v jedi.

Vendar je filozof samo človek, zato delo *Grdi filozofi* naravnost pove: »Če so drugi ljudje podli, se tudi filozof ne brani, da bi se uvrstil mednje in bil v medčloveških odnosih tudi manipulativno in zlonamerno dejaven.«[10] Toda zelo narobe beremo *Grde filozofe*, če domnevamo, da krivda drugega opravičuje mojo krivdo. Ne, kajti delo v celoti učinkuje kot krik proti tovrstnemu početju in še bolj opravičevanju zla, krivice in s tem trpljenja. Etična substanca, na kateri snuje Marija Švajncer, je med

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[7] Marija Švajncer: *Grdi filozofi*, str. 7.

[8] Prav tam, str. 6.

[9] Prav tam, str. 77.

[10] Prav tam, str. 110.

drugim tudi *zlato pravilo*, ki danes, v času globalizacije, pomeni univerzalni etični temelj za svetovni etos oziroma živo, dejavno etiko, »ki bi se mogla postaviti po robu zlu tega sveta, saj naj bi bil prav v njej moralni temelj za boljše življenje«.[11] V to temeljno soglasje vseh nazorov, religij, etik, ki so povsem ateistično utemeljene, ne dvomimo, toda avtorica pri tem kritično ugotavlja, da bi se ta stališča in pobude »dotaknile tistih, ki delajo zlo v svetu«, bilo »zelo težko ali skoraj nemogoče najti«.[12] Še pri nas ne, saj so nekateri katoliški teologi želeli in to še vedno želijo s pomočjo svetovnega etosa opravljati celo rekatolizacijo, podobno kot na Poljskem. *Deklaracija o svetovnem etosu* (1993) pa izrecno poudarja in vztraja, da je svetovni etos nazorsko nevtralen. Razumi zdaj pri nas nekatere, kdor to zmore.

Ob branju dela *Grdi filozofi* osupnemo nad imeni, ki jih obravnava filozofinja Švajncerjeva. Pozna jih, brala jih je in prisluhnila njihovim razmišljanjem in hkrati zelo natančno opazuje njihov jezik, kajti zapisana beseda je materializirana misel. Tem, ki jih navdihuje jeza zaradi socialnih krivic, priznava, da je klic *uprimo se* (Stephane Hessel) možen kot miroljubno upanje in da je »upor izenačil z ustvarjalnostjo«,[13] saj je kot tok, ki nas usmerja »proti večji pravičnosti in večji svobodi«.[14] Ko že z naslovno formulacijo razpravlja o nemoralnosti, je suženjstvo antike vse prej kot kaj dostojanstvenega, »ne spada med plemenita opravila«,[15] in žal sodobni čas še vedno pozna to zlo, ki se je ohranilo, čeprav v kakšni sodobni obliki. Aristotel z vsem svojim odobravanjem suženjstva takratne dobe pravi, da je »sužen živo orodje, in orodje je neživ suženj«, vendar hkrati s tem izrazi še tole: »Zdi se namreč, da je v vsakem človeku neka osnova pravičnosti do vsakogar, kdor je zmožen udeležbe v zakonih in dogovorih, zato je v takem primeru možno tudi prijateljstvo, kolikor gre za človeka.«[16] Sicer nihče, tako kot Aristotel izrecno poudarja v *Nikomahovi etiki*, »ne čuti prijateljstva do sužnja kot sužnja, pač pa do sužnja kot človeka«.[17] Vsaj na tam mestu bi bil možen sklep, da pravičnost in suženjstvo nista združljiva.[18]

Ko stopimo v Nietzschejev svet, po *Bestiarium philosophicum* v Nemčiji redek primer vsekakor strupenega »nevarnega gada«,[19] je v tem svetu, tako kot nekoč davno pri Martinu Lutru, vse zaznamovano s srditimi razmišljanji, še vedno in najbolj tam, kjer Nietzsche prepozna zlo. Tudi etika po njegovi ugotovitvi učinkuje kot tiranija dobrega in celo kot človekova protinarava. Da bi se vsaj deloma izognil onenaravljeni etiki in njeni represivni moči, je med drugim spregovoril o imoralizmu,

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[11] Prav tam, str. 423.

[12] Prav tam, str. 422.

[13] Prav tam, str. 421.

[14] Prav tam, str. 420.

[15] Prav tam, str. 88.

[16] Prav tam, str. 91.

[17] Prav tam.

[18] Gl. Aristotel: *Nikomahova etika*, VIII. Knjiga, 1161 b, Cankarjeva založba, Ljubljana 1964, str. 286.

[19] Gerhard Funke: *Bestiarium philosophicum*, str. 164.

kar je bila »njegova načrtna usmerjenost«, in tukaj Švajncerjeva opozarja, da Nietzsche »naravnost postavlja trditev, ki jo je izrekel Buda, češ, da je onkraj dobrega in zlega«.[20] Toda kljub temu »biti onkraj« Nietzscheju uspe dešifrirati marsikaj, kar tostran ni dobro, zlo je preoblečeno v moralne cunje. V tem je nedvomno Nietzschejev ritem poštenosti.

Zakaj je Friedrichu Nietzscheju uspelo misel spraviti tako daleč, da lahko pogosto spregovori celo tam, kjer najbolj boli in kjer je očitno nakopičeno najhujše zlo? Je sodobna etika in nasploh etika v 20. stoletju pokazala to sposobnost? Kot že rečeno, smo skozi vso zgodovino skoraj že obsedeno proučevali dobro, za zlo pa nismo razvili niti pojmovnega orodja, da bi ga znali zaznati in nanj opozarjati.

Zagledati obličje zla in postati zgovoren, ko prepoznaš krivico, izgovarjati jo – ta Nietzschejev zgled je ostal vse do danes, četudi se nam nekateri njegovi nazori glede rešitev, ki jih je skušal podati, upirajo. Nietzsche je razmišljal s kladivom v rokah, in kamor je kaj pribil, tam tudi trajno ostaja in je primerljivo samo še s tem, kar je storil pred njim Martin Luter. Nanj se Nietzsche zelo pogosto sklicuje.

Jezo, srd in čustva Nietzsche razume kot zdravnike življenja, saj mu omogočajo, da sploh lahko razmišlja. Tako zelo odkritosrčno pove, da mu je v tem Luter vzor (*Mi, filologi*), ki ga dobesedno navaja. »Luter: nimam boljšega dela kakor jezo in ljubosumnost: kajti če hočem dobro pesniti, pisati, moliti in pridigati, tedaj moram biti jezen, tedaj se vsa moja kri osveži, moj razum postane oster in vse nevesele misli in skušnjave se umaknejo.«[21] Tisti, ki samo obrača knjige in po asketsko ponižno ponavlja dogme in prisega nanje, sploh ni zmožen misliti iz sebe. Kot da bi bil pred nami Luter kot vzgojitelj, ki se svojemu samovoljnemu učencu Nietzscheju lahko spoštljivo prikloni.

Iz lastnega življenja, celo samosti ustvarjena misel je divja, srdita misel. V delu *Ecce homo (Kako postaneš, kar si)* je Nietzsche zelo zgovoren in poudarja, da njegova samost namenoma učinkuje kot »strahoten eksploziv«,[22] ki ga omogoča tudi še ta ali oni vzor. Kljub temu vse izrečeno prihaja iz Nietzschejeve notranjosti, zato je »vsaka beseda doživeta, globoka, notranja; ne manjka najbolj bolečih stvari, notri so besede, ki so kar krvoločne. Vendar nad vsem veje veter velike svobode; še rana ne deluje kot ugovor.«[23] Z divjo mislijo – »,divji' človek (ali moralno izraženo: srdit človek)« – je nakazan po njegovem obrat nazaj k naravi in bi lahko pomenil njeno obnovo, namreč obnovo v pomenu ponovne prisvojitve tega, kar je kultura – vsaj zahodna – v imenu napredka iz zgodovine izrinila in priznavala v primerjavi z duhom za manjvredno, človeka pa podvojila v medsebojno sovražni odnos duh – telo, ki je z vsem prepoveličal onstranstvo, večnost, neskončnost, nesmrtnost in te povzdignil v zanikanje življenja.

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[20] Marija Švajncer: *Grdi filozofi*, str. 111.

[21] Friedrich Nietzsche: *Času neprimerna premišljevanja*, Slovenska matica, Ljubljana 2007, str. 288.

[22] Friedrich Nietzsche: *Ecce homo. Kako postaneš, kar si*, Slovenska matica, Ljubljana 1989, str. 216.

[23] Prav tam.

Nujno je narediti preboj. Nietzsche izrecno opozarja, da mu gre za prihodnost, namreč za vzvišeno pravico do prihodnosti. Kje se začne ta pravica? Samo pri realnosti sami in v njej, tako da ji damo tisto veljavo, ki ji gre: zato pa je treba sesuti ideale, ki ponotranjajo zlagano realnost. Tako Nietzsche v delu *Ecce homo* meni, da je »veseli glasnik«,[24] to je Nietzsche kot vzgojitelj, ki nas še danes vzgaja s prezirom do etike, ki je utelešena volja do laži, ki zanika življenje in mu jemlje njegove najbolj vitalne moči – skratka do etike, ki končuje v nasprotovanje življenju in je dekadentna. Nikakršna etika več kot obrekovanje življenja.

Nietzsche pa, kot da bi od etike pričakoval, da bo pristno oznanilo življenja, celo njegov večni da, nikakršno »dolgotrajno nasilje« in »tiranija proti ‚naravi‘, tudi proti ‚umu‘« – in tu mu dajemo priznanje. Gre za zelo zgovorno etiko, celo glasno, in vsekakor to ni kakšna etika molka, še manj etika ignorance.

Svet, ki je zasvojen s politiko, Nietzscheja nikakor ni prepričal, kajti dejanski napredek mora biti etično utemeljen. V *Somraku malikov* (*Kako filozofiramo s kladivom*, 1888, delo je izšlo januarja 1889) Nietzsche kar najbolj surovo očita Nemcem, da ne premorejo pravih vzgojiteljev – izjema je samo njegov prijatelj Jakob Burckhardt iz Basla, sicer profesor umetnostne in kulturne zgodovine. Nemški duh postaja grob in plitek, v nemški inteligenci je mnogo preveč piva, manjka ji nagon duhovnosti, izobraženci v sebi ne čutijo »samoohranitvenega nagona duha«,[25] nemštvo je obsedla politika in poveličevanje države, zato že v *Jutranji zarji* Nemcem – on kot Poljak – očita, da so občudovanja vredno in zgledno *omiko* (*Bildung*) zamenjali s »politično in nacionalno blaznostjo«.[26] Politika jemlje vso resnobo za kaj duhovnega, zaradi pretirane politizacije postanemo utrujeni življenja in to preroško svarilo v Evropi občutimo še danes, kajti politika je prešla v pogubno zasvojenost, tako kot alkohol in droge.

Etika mora postati triumf življenja, za onaravljeno etiko gre, odpovedati se je treba etiki kot onenaravljeni, tj. etiki kot človekovi protinaravi, »tiraniji nad ‚naravo‘« in »tudi nad ‚pametjo‘«.[27] Čas etike kot dolgotrajnega nasilja, tj. »protinaravna morala«,[28] je mimo in »vsa sredstva, s katerimi so do zdaj poskušali napraviti človeštvo moralno, so bila do dna *nemoralna*«.[29] Morala kot vampirstvo, odurna, škodljiva laž teh, ki bi bili po svetniško radi poboljševalci človeštva, je izrodek človeštva, ki ga je treba pokončati.

V imenu morale kaznovati: »Čudna reč, naša kazen! Zločinca ne očisti, ne poravna krivde, pač pa, nasprotno, povzroči še večjo zamazanost kot sam zločinec.«[30] V

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[24] Prav tam, str. 260.

[25] Friedrich Nietzsche: *Somrak malikov. Kako filozofiramo s kladivom*, Slovenska matica, Ljubljana 1989, str. 51.

[26] Friedrich Nietzsche: *Jutranja zarja*, Slovenska matica, Ljubljana 2004, str. 138–139.

[27] Friedrich Nietzsche: *Onstran dobrega in zlega. Predigra k filozofiji prihodnosti*, Slovenska matica, Ljubljana 1988, str. 88.

[28] Friedrich Nietzsche: *Somrak malikov. Kako filozofiramo s kladivom*, str. 33.

[29] Prav tam, str. 49.

[30] Friedrich Nietzsche: *Jutranja zarja*, str. 171.

imenu morale etiketiranja je okrutnost razumljena kot vrlina, dobesedno »je moralnost etiketiranja v svojem najglobljem bistvu užitek, ki ga ponuja pretanjena okrutnost«.[31] Nietzsche jo odkriva marsikje, celo v nedolžnosti nune, ko ta z »obsojajočim pogledom zre v obraz drugače živečih žensk! Koliko maščevalnega užitka je v teh očeh!«[32]

Nietzsche je samozavestno izrekel, da pozna svojo usodo, ne razmišlja samo s kladivom v rokah, kot dinamit je, ki se boji, da bi ga nekega »lepega dne razglasili za *svetnika*«,[33] raje bi bil in ostal pavliha. Za nas je samo Friedrich Nietzsche, ki nam dopoveduje, da moramo biti zato, da bomo ljubezen čutili kot ljubezen in da bomo o drugih ljudeh imeli človekoljubno predstavo, ki se imenuje ljubezen in dobrota, pošteni do sebe, predvsem pa moramo sami sebe temeljito in dobro poznati. Vsaj nekaj malega nas je naučil kako odkrivamo resnico, četudi tako kot on sam, namreč da je »najprej začutil laž kot laž«[34] – in imel je prav.

O tem, kaj je moralno občutje, nas Švajncerjeva seznanja z nazori,[35] ki poudarjajo, da je »moralno občutje sicer zmota«, vendar se človek z moralnim zakonom »svojevrstno dvigne«, pride do samoobvladovanja, »ki je za kulturo nepogrešljivo. Le kdor obvladuje samega sebe, se nauči samospoštovanja«.[36]

Nietzsche strogo sledi »evtanaziji religije«, podobno kot pred njim Arthur Schopenhauer, in oba filozofa, ki spadata v filozofijo življenja, aktualizirata ateizem. Kot tisto izrazito osebno na Schopenhauerjevi filozofiji, kar je Nietzscheja trajno nagovorilo, je to, da spoznavaš samega sebe (Heraklit) in postajaš to, kar si (Pindar), in to je značilnost *imenitnega človeka*. O tem *odličnem človeku* sklene zapis iz *Onkraj dobrega in zlega* na vprašanje »Kaj je odlično?« z besedami, da »kakršno si že bodi temeljno prepričanje, ki ga ima odlična duša o sebi«, je to »nekaj, česar ni mogoče ne iskati, ne najti in mogoče tudi ne izgubiti. – *Odlična duša ima spoštovanje pred seboj.*«[37] In v tej Nietzschejevi pristni doslednosti prepoznavamo vplive Schopenhauerjeve mladostne *boljše zavesti*.[38]

Vprašajmo se, ali so filozofi naša boljša zavest, ta, brez katere ni humanistike – morda pri tem nekateri celo malo pretiravajo. Tudi Švejk, »ateistični junak«,[39] je pretiraval in s tem dosegel, da njegova dejanja prejmejo filozofski pomen. To, kar je dobro, razume v njegovi odsotnosti in ta pristop je tako sodoben, da prehaja v vse-

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[31] Prav tam, str. 32.

[32] Prav tam.

[33] Friedrich Nietzsche: *Somrak malikov. Kako filozofiramo s kladivom*, str. 259.

[34] Prav tam.

[35] Gl. Rüdiger Safranski: *Nietzsche. Biografija njegovega mišljenja*, Literatura, Ljubljana 2010, str. 151.

[36] Marija Švajncer: *Grdi filozofi*, str. 120.

[37] Friedrich Nietzsche: *Onstran dobrega in zlega. Predigra k filozofiji prihodnosti*, str. 196–196.

[38] O »bessres Bewußtseyn« gl. Arthur Schopenhauer: *Die frühen Manuskripte 1804–1818*, (HN I), str. 42. Nav. iz Arthur Schopenhauer: *Der handschriftliche Nachlaß* (HN I–V), ur. Arthur Hübscher, Verlag Waldemar Kramer, Frankfurt 1966–1975.

[39] Marija Švajncer: *Grdi filozofi*, str. 384.

lejšnjost, tj. v trajno aktualnost, ki se ji lahko pokloni celo filozof Theodor W. Adorno, ki po *Bestiarium philosophicum* adornira kot »komar«, ki bliskovito reagira s svojo »zbadajočo aparaturo«.[40]

Nasploh je odlika dela *Grdi filozofi*, da razmišlja še z najbolj »grdimi«, nemogočimi izjavami in tudi dejanji nekaterih filozofskih veličin o tem, kaj je zlo, in še bolj, kako zlo premagovati. Protipol temu je dobro, ta pracelica etike, ki je pogosto učinkovala kot pretiravanje, represija, teror, nasilje. Poznamo bratovščino med nasiljem in politiko, Švajncerjeva nas sooči z ugotovitvijo, da je »vsako nasilje vselej politično, čeprav se dogaja skrito pred javnostjo«.[41] S pomočjo Hanne Arendt poudarja, »da oblast in nasilje nista eno in isto«,[42] nasilje in moč pa vsekakor. Kjer ni oblasti ali se oblast in njene institucije izgubljajo, tam je nasilje lahko v porastu.

Je zgodovina žensk zgodovina moškega nasilja nad ženskami? To je tema, ki jo Švajncerjeva obravnava v sedmem poglavju *Grdih filozofov* z naslovom *Podcenjevanje žensk*. Verjetno danes razlik med moškim in žensko ni dobro prepoveličevati ali celo absolutizirati in mnoge intelektualke same opozarjajo na to dejstvo. Toda naravno dane razlike so pripeljale do razlikovanja na moško kot nadrejeno in večvredno, žensko manjvredno, in zato imajo ženske skozi vso zgodovino podrejeno vlogo v svetu in družbi. Delo *Grdi filozofi* zelo prijetno preseneti z opisom Platonovih nazorov, ki predstavljajo zelo dragocen vir za pojem pravičnosti, ta pa že v antični Grčiji vključuje enakopravnost žensk na vseh ravneh, tudi »v vojskovanju«, ker so »naravne sposobnosti enakomerno razdeljene med oba spola, tako da so ženski po njeni naravi dostopni vsi poklici«,[43] ne glede na to, da so ženske v primerjavi z moškimi v veliki večini fizično šibkejše. Ta del knjige *Grdi filozofi* učinkuje kot povabilo, da si to in ono, čeprav že tisočkrat prebrano, spet in ponovno ogledamo in prijateljujemo z mislimi antičnega mojstra. So misli, ki so trajne, in filozofija je v marsičem, predvsem glede na dela, ki jih mi prebiramo, celo prijateljevanje na daljavo.

To poglavje (str. 257–392) vključuje precej filozofskih imen, ki se ukvarjajo z lastnostmi žensk, ki so v svojem boju za enakopravnost med spoloma očitno zelo izzvale moško prevlado in oblast in pri tem so se mnogi moški odzivali – in se še – domala ogroženo. Po pravilu *napad je najboljša obramba* mnogi samo še poglabljajo predsodke proti ženskam in skušajo podati nove, prefinjene dikriminacijsko-izločevalne mehanizme, tj. podcenjevanje, ki se v zdajšnjem času seveda ni nehalo. Samo prijemi tega podcenjevanja so čedalje bolj prefinjeni, vsaj v zahodnem svetu. Smisel ženske emancipacije po tej plati je v tem, da si ženske ne dovolimo teh mehanizmov ponotranjati, skratka, nikakršna identifikacija z napadalcem. In seveda ženske same nismo prenašalke diskriminacijskih vzorcev in tako je seveda feminizem izziv, ki med ženskami samimi sproža različne odzive, tudi že glede izraza feminizem, in mnoge

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[40] Gerhard Funke: *Bestiarium philosophicum*, str. 8.

[41] Prav tam, str. 176.

[42] Prav tam, str. 180.

[43] Prav tam, str. 260.

»uveljavljene sodobne teoretičarke« ne marajo tega, »da bi jih kdo imel za feministke«.[44] Švajncerjeva tukaj posredno apelira na ustvarjanje razmer, ki bi razvijale take možnosti za to kratko življenje, ki nam je dano živeti, da se ne bi več samo »nenehno spopadali«,[45] skratka, tu bralec *Grdih filozofov* jasno razbere, da gre avtorici pri ženski emancipaciji v bistvu za etizacijo sveta.

Vendar bi se kaj etičnega dalo razbrati iz življenja in opusa francoske filozofinje, esejistke in pisateljice Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986), ki »velja za eno izmed začetnic na področju boja za pravice žensk«.[46] Med kar nekaj razlogi, zakaj naj ne bi dobila Nobelove nagrade, Švajncerjeva v *Grdih filozofih* omenja tole: »Filozofinja je bila usmerjena biseksualno in med drugim z liceja, na katerem je bila profesorica, pregnana, ker se je zapletla z dijakinjo. Neko dekle je bila najprej njena ljubimka, potem je postala intimna še s Sartrom, ki naj bi bil celo prvi moški v njenem spolnem življenju. Moškemu je družba dovolila svobodno življenje, ženski tega v marsičem ni dopustila.«[47] Bi danes odbor za podeljevanje Nobelovih nagrad to dejstvo prezrl in ga sploh ne upošteval? Še enkrat: v čem je vsak kanček kakšnega etičnega sporočila v tem, kar je avtorica dela *Drugi spol* »povedala javno, nič ni hotela skrivati«?[48]

Osmo poglavje, *Ekološka vprašanja in pravice živali*, načenja problem, kako razmišljati o življenju živali. Tu vsekakor izstopa delo *Praktična etika* (1979) avstralskega filozofa Petra Singerja, ki se kritično sprašuje o naši etični odgovornosti do živali, in ljudje kot bitja razuma smo zato toliko bolj odgovorni, tako v svojem odločanju kot presojanju o živalih. Švajncerjeva pri tem omenja starogrškega filozofa Demokrita, ki se je zavedal, da žival »ve, koliko potrebuje, človek pa tega ne ve«, in takšno stališče je upravičeno razsvetljensko. Tudi Aristotel je v svoji *Politiki* razmišljal o tem, kaj je značilno za človeka in kaj za žival – oboji imamo »naravni nagon po skupnosti«, za ljudi pa je »značilna posebnost, da imajo edini zaznavo dobrega in slabega, pravičnega in krivičnega«.[49] Torej je človek bitje, ki je odgovorno tako za ohranjanje celotne svetovne biti kot tudi tega najbolj dragocenega v njej, življenja v vseh pojavnih oblikah.

Tudi v tem poglavju nas Švajncerjeva seznanja z imeni filozofov, ki so preučevali življenje živali v primerjavi s človekom, in ne glede na to, da je narava vir prehranjevanja, tudi, da je »človek zmožen nujnih resnic«,[50] nas omenjena problematika vendarle opozarja na meje našega antropocentrizma. Zamislimo se pri zapisanih besedah slovenskega biologa Igorja Jermana (roj. 1957), ki poudarja: »Ko enkrat inteligenco osvobodimo človekovih spon in je definiramo bolj široko, se nam odpre čisto

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44 Prav tam, str. 388.

45 Prav tam.

46 Prav tam, str. 349.

47 Prav tam, str. 349–350.

48 Prav tam, str. 350.

49 Prav tam, str. 394.

50 Prav tam, str. 398.

novo obzorje, kjer lahko občudujemo visoko inteligenco celo pri rastlinah.«[51] So ti nazori blizu sodobne panteizacije sveta, ki trajno učinkuje s svojim pojmovanjem etike kot človekove druge narave in ne kot protinarave? To je za etiko izziv, ki pomeni, da gre za onaravljeno etiko in ne za onenaravljeno, toda klic »nazaj k naravi« – v taki ali drugačni obliki – naj ne pomeni izgube našega tako zelo težko pridobljenega humanizma.

Zadnje, deveto poglavje *Humani in drugi načrti* v marsičem učinkuje kot nadgradnja znanih štirih Kantovih vprašanj in zdaj je pred bralcem dela *Grdi filozofi* še eno, samo docela aktualno, tu, zdaj vse vpeto v današnji trenutek in tesno povezano z dejstvi sodobnega, t.i. globaliziranega sveta. Kako recimo razmišljati o terorizmu, tem strašnem nepovabljenem gostu med nami – povedano malo ničejevsko, ne ničejansko –, saj vedno znova v poročilih poslušamo o bombnih eksplozijah in divjem streljanju na tržnicah, prireditvah, celo po svetiščih, nazadnje v sinagogi? Terorizem je strašno sporočilo in opozorilo in ta temni pojav celo opozarja na našo dovzetnost za zlo. Francoski filozof Jean Baudrillard nas je opozoril na nekaj, kar govori najprej o nas samih: »Če sta se enajstega septembra 2001 zrušila stolpa blagovnega središča, je bilo to dejanje, mi pa smo bili tisti, je prepričan Baudrillard, ki smo si to baje želeli. Njegov sarkazem govori o sokrivdi, človekova želja je umeščena v zlo sodobnega sveta.«[52] Hmm! »Konec koncev so to sicer nekako storili oni, mi pa smo to hoteli.«[53] Mar gre za soudeleženost visoke politike pri nasilju in terorizmu?

Ali pa za uživaštvo, podobno kot nekoč gladiatorski boji po arenah, kjer so množice tulile od podivjanega sadizma, sicer preoblečenega v civilizacijo. Dobronamerni ljudje, ki jim etika še vedno nekaj pomeni, tega seveda ne želijo in si tudi prizadevajo, da se kaj takega ne bi dogajalo, še vedno »verjamejo v dogovarjanje, sporazumevanje in pogajanje«.[54] Tukaj lahko Švajncerjevi samo pritrdimo, tudi temu, da psihologizmi zapisovalcem svetovnih dogodkov niso ravno v prid. Refleksija zahteva drugačen pristop, predvsem takega, da ne prepovelčuje civiliziranega sadizma, recimo na televizijskih ekranih.

Špilferderberski filozof, kakor se sam imenuje Peter Sloterdijk, spada med deset trenutno najbolj izstopajočih filozofskih imen, podobno kot Jürgen Habermas, in pri nas smo mu prisluhnili kar z nekaj prevodi. Tudi z delom *Spremeniti moraš svoje življenje* (2013) nas preseneča in hkrati nagovarja, da prisluhnemo svarilu, ki se glasi: »Pošast hodi po zahodnem svetu – pošast religije.«[55] Komunizem ne več, religija pa. Njegova razmišljanja so morda za marsikoga čudaška, a kot ateistu mu moramo priznati, da je vzpon religij v svetu, še posebej po koncu socializma, prinesel mnogo problemov, le malo pa jih je rešil.

[51] Prav tam, str. 411.

[52] Prav tam, str. 413.

[53] Jean Baudrillard: *Duh terorizma*, Društvo Apokalipsa, Ljubljana 2005, str. 7.

[54] Marija Švajncer: *Grdi filozofi*, str. 414.

[55] Peter Sloterdijk: *Spremeniti moraš svoje življenje*, Slovenska matica, Ljubljana 2013, str. 11.

Antikomunizem je Petra Sloerdijka še posebej razočaral, ko je opazoval pojave verskega nasilja in izbruha diskriminacijskih sredstev, ki so v porastu v imenu katoliške reevangelizacije po vzhodni Evropi, to pa je nasilje, ki je že začelo kazati vse pretenzije političnega oblastništva. Zato zelo neprijetno strezni in sproža razmislek tale njegova ugotovitev: »Po padcu komunizma je moral posel svetovnozgodovinskega maščevanja, splošneje rečeno univerzalne poravnave trpljenja, vnovič spolzeti iz rok človeških agentur. Tako so se oblikovali dobri razlogi, na podlagi katerih se je katoliška cerkev lahko povzpela na oder kot pristni postkomunizem, skoraj kot duša avtentičnega in spiritualnega komunizma – to priložnost je bilo mogoče razbrati iz teatralnega poslanstva Karola Woytile. Katoliška poslanica seveda vključuje vrnitev na klasično moralno konzervativno držo, po kateri naj bi se moral tudi sodobni človek osvoboditi jeze in revolta, da bi znova našel, kar je izgubil v teku dogajanj od leta 1789: potrpežljivost in ponižnost. Ta priporočila pa spregledujejo vsaj to, da visoko doneče kreposti stojijo na trhlih nogah, če jim ne priskoči na pomoč groteča oblast verodostojno oznanjevalne teologije poslednje sodbe.«[56]

Švajncerjeva zelo spoštljivo spregovori o filozofih, ki jim etika nekaj pomeni, saj je smisel demokracije med drugim tudi v tem, da je etika nad politiko. Razen Hansa Künga in njegovega svetovnega etosa, saj »človeštvo potrebuje vizijo o miroljubnem sobivanju ljudi«,[57] jo posebej zanima soočenje z nihilizmom, ki je na Künga zelo vplivalo. Tako kot italijanski filozof Umberto Galimberti se sprašuje o »možnosti biti onstran nihilizma«,[58] ki je zasvojil mlade ljudi, kajti nihilizem je dezorientacija, ne neguje upanja, »slabi dušo, načenja emocije in tem emocijam jemlje moč«.[59] Nihilizem z vsem pravi *ne* življenju, samemu sebi, drugim ljudem. Stopnjuje pa se zaupanje v kemijo, v mamila, priče smo naraščajočemu nasilju in tudi število samomorov se povečuje. Ni enostavno s humanizmom, kjer smo soočeni s terorizmom, in nobena žična ograja ne zaustavi prebežnikov, tudi ne bolezni, ki jih prinašajo v naš svet. Naraščajoči pesimizem je utemeljen.

V zaključnem delu *Ali res ni izhoda?* (str. 438–439) Švajncerjeva poudarja, da se kljub vsemu vendar ni izgubilo spoznanje, da je dobro uresničljivo, kajti: »Dobrega ljudje pogosto sploh ne opazijo, saj ga jemljejo za samoumevno, zlo pa je zanje učinkovito, ogrožajoče in nepredvidljivo, pogosto bolj opazno in toliko bolj nezaželeno. V resnici gre za to, da dobro in zlo ne bi bili v ravnovesju in količinsko izenačeni, temveč sta pomembna hotenje in želja, da bi prevladovalo dobro, čeprav je v tem nekaj utopičnega in naivnega, toda utopičnosti in naivnosti se etika ne brani. Z upanjem in optimizmom je veliko lažje živeti.«[60] Zaveda se tudi, da ni lahko oblikovati »podobe dobre-

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[56] Peter Sloterdijk: *Zorn und Zeit. Politisch–psychologischer Versuch*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main 2006, str. 333–334.

[57] Marija Švajncer: *Grdi filozofi*, str. 424.

[58] Prav tam, str. 429.

[59] Prav tam, str. 430.

[60] Prav tam, str. 439.

ga človeka«[61] in da vsak filozof živi v svojem času v zelo konkretnih življenjskih razmerah, ki ga zaradi pritiska prisilijo, da izreče kaj grdega: »Družbeno dogajanje nekatere izvrže, druge pa povzdigne. Odločajo tisti, ki so zgoraj in imajo moč.«[62] Posredno iz avtoričinih zapisov izhaja, da so vendarle na potezi politiki in tako še ni »vse izgubljeno«.[63]

Branje *Grdih filozofov* je prijetno in spodbudno in skozi kar najbolj razvejeno problematiko na področjih, s katerimi so se ukvarjali različni filozofi v različnih obdobjih, nas Švajncerjeva naravnost sooča, da brez zgodovinsko realiziranega pojma filozofije te ne moremo razumeti in še manj filozofov samih. Nekega filozofa najprej razumemo iz njega samega, iz njegovih lastnih postavk, filozofijo kot tako pa iz družbe v kateri se konkretno nahaja. Potrebujemo utopične vizije, ki nas usmerjajo v prihodnost in ne v onstranskost, v boljše, vsekakor v svet brez orožja in vojn. Šele utopistika je sploh omogočila nastanek in razvoj novoveškega humanizma. Samo znanost ne zadošča in znanstveni fetišizem, ki vodi v zanikanje filozofije, dogmatsko omejuje tudi sámo znanost. Filozofija kljub vsemu ne sme otrdeti, otopeti in okameneti. Ne glede na militantno neoliberalistično globalizacijo je po Jürgenu Habermasu treba upoštevati, da smo pač v globalizaciji, in če te ne želimo reducirati v globalizem, kar pomeni izpostaviti se ekonomističnemu redukcionizmu in ohranjati znane tradicionalne odnose nadrejenosti in podrejenosti, velja slediti klicu filozofov, še posebej, da prisluhnimo med drugim še čemu etičnemu.

Če je – in ker celo je – filozofija »najradikalnejša oblika samorefleksije«,[64] ki je v določenem časovnem obdobju sploh možna, je po Habermasu vendarle treba upoštevati, da ni v njeni moči rešiti umnosti sveta v sodobnem času. To nikakor ne pomeni, da se umnosti odreka ali jo celo podreja religiji, kar je Habermas izrazito poudaril v pogovoru z Josephom Ratzingerjem 19. januarja 2004.[65] Tako je pomen in vlogo filozofije danes Habermas že leta 1973 opisal s tremi tezami. Najprej vidi poslanstvo filozofije v ohranjanju teoretskih strategij, ki zavračajo »empirični elementarizem in indukcionizem« v znanosti. Zaradi tega je bil solidaren s historičnim materializmom »kot smiselnim programom prihodnje teorije socialne evolucije«, ne da bi sprejemal njegove izgotovljene oblike, recimo diamata. Naloga filozofije je še vedno v tem, da reflektira univerzalnost misli, tako na področju znanosti in hkrati še, ko gre za univerzalnost temeljne racionalne življenjske prakse in delovanja. Skratka, filozofija se ne sme odpovedati razmisleku o »kulturno univerzalnih temeljih mišljenja« in o »racionalnem vodenju življenja«; tako je »samorazlaganje in samoohranjanje uma stvar filozofije«,[66] poudarja Habermas še posebej in odločno.

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[61] Prav tam, str. 440.

[62] Prav tam, str. 441.

[63] Prav tam.

[64] Jürgen Habermas: *Zur Rekonstruktion des historischen Materialismus*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main 1982, str. 56.

[65] Gl. Jürgen Habermas, Joseph Ratzinger (ur. Florian Schuller): *Dialektik der Säkularisierung. Über Vernunft und Religion*, Herder, Freiburg 2011.

[66] Jürgen Habermas: *Zur Rekonstruktion des historischen Materialismus*, str. 57.

Zato kot tretjo in celo »najplemenitejšo nalogo filozofije« Habermas vidi v tem, da je »moč radikalne samorefleksije«, ki se mora vsak trenutek upirati vsem oblikam objektivacije (odtujitve), vsakršni ideologizaciji in temu, da bi se mišljenje in institucije ločile in osamosvojile od živega živetega življenja, od življenjsko praktičnega konteksta njihovega nastanka in delovanja; ta trenutek to velja tudi za vrednote oziroma za njihovo zdajšnjo tiranijo. Skratka, mišljenje ne sme preiti v slednjištvo – tudi ne kot sicer kakšno sugestivno in romantično novopoganstvo s klicem »nazaj k naravi« – in nobena institucija ne sme postati sama sebi namen, torej samozadostna, da bi ji ljudje morali služiti in da bi morali biti pred njo na kolenih. Institucije so v službi in za dobro ljudi in ne obratno. Samorefleksija je hkrati uperjena proti »absolutizmu mišljenja izvora in čiste teorije«, proti njeni samozadostnosti, uperjena je proti »scientističnemu razumevanju znanosti in proti tehnokratski zavesti političnega sistema, ki je ločen od baze«,[67] in v takšni samorefleksiji Habermas razume, da se vzpostavlja enotnost med teorijo in prakso, celo identiteta družbe in ljudi, ki v tej družbi živijo. Zato poslednjo misel sklene z opozorilom, da ne vidi, »kako bi bili brez filozofije v stanju izoblikovati in jamčiti to identiteto na tako krhki podlagi, kakršna je kot um«.[68]

Politični pristop oziroma – habermasovsko rečeno – politični diskurz je nemočen in zaostaja, vse preveč se izpostavlja kot moč in oblast, v boju za premoč pušča za seboj trupla, šibkejši niti ne pridejo do besede. Ravno etični občutljivosti ljudi Habermas priznava, da »moralni diskurzi puščajo v enaki meri do besede vse prizadete«, predvsem v tem smislu, ker ti diskurzi usmerjajo vse navzoče tako, »da sprejemajo tudi perspektive vsakokrat drugačnih«.[69] Filozofija je torej trajno odprta in dovzetna v smislu kar najširše svetovne emancipacijske teorije in ne prestižno naravnana s kakšnim kulturnim in idejnim imperializmom.

Dejanska sreča mišljenja pri vsakem filozofu je v tem, da v vsakem trenutku, še tako težkem in tragičnem, misel sploh lahko misli in skuša filozofsko refleksijo upreti tudi v nekaj povsem obrobnega, nepredvidljivega in kar je v razkoraku z vsemi tradicionalnimi predmetnimi področji filozofije, skratka, z vsem priznanim z akademskega področja. To je nov imperativ v dojemanju in mišljenju kakšnega filozofa, ki mora zmožnost za filozofsko refleksijo ohranjati in negovati tudi tam, kjer filozofija nekoč ni imela nikakršne domovinske pravice, in kot oko sveta ubesediti tudi najbolj neizrekljivo trpljenje in bolečino. Da se temu in onemu filozofu pri tem zareče kaj grdega, slabega in norega pa velja pospremiti tako po benjaminovsko s komentarjem, da k vsaki porciji pameti spada še kakšna majhna porcija neumnosti. Na čem in ob čem bi se sicer pamet in um prepoznala? Pritrditi velja tudi temu, kar

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[67] Prav tam, str. 58.

[68] Prav tam.

[69] Jürgen Habermas: *Öffentlicher Raum und politische Öffentlichkeit. Lebensgeschitliche Wurzeln von zwei Gedankenmotiven,* nav. iz Jürgen Habermas: *Zwischen Naturalismus und Religion. Philosophische Aufsätze*, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main 2005, str. 21.

malo ironično delo *Bestiarium philosophicum* počne, namreč, ko že povsem na začetku primerja filozofa z Narcisom, ki je lepi sin rečnega Kefisosa. Narcis se »izčrpava v nepotešeni ljubezni do svoje zrcalne podobe na vodi«,[70] in to samoobčudovanje in samoopazovanje vendar ni brez pomena za refleksijo, še posebej ne takrat, ko filozof bolečino sveta čuti in opazuje kot svojo lastno bolečino. In morda nikjer ni človekov jaz tako zelo zraven kot ravno pri filozofih.

Delo *Grdi filozofi* je celo nekakšna zgodovina filozofije, tradicionalne in sodobne. Prikazi in posamične razprave so izrazito problemsko naravnani in v vsakem zapisanem stavku začutimo desetletja intenzivnih študij in garaškega dela. Samo nekomu s takim poznavanjem filozofije, sodobne in tradicionalne, kot ga ima Marija Švajncer, uspe tak teoretski sprehod, in to s tako lahkoto, da bi ga imenovala kar *filozofsko srfanje*. Vse zapisano je tudi kot nagovor, ki bralca spodbuja k nadgradnji v obliki komentarja, takega, kot je tudi pričujoči prispevek. Vsekakor bo Švajncerjeva še mnogo ustvarila in njena številna dela je med drugim možno razumeti kot spodbudo za kar najbolj produktiven razvoj filozofije in celotne humanistike pri nas.

....

[70] Gerhard Funke: *Bestiarium philosophicum*, str. 8.

NAVODILA
AVTORJEM

145-148

Časopis Anthropos zavzema mesto osrednje slovenske znanstvene revije za interdisciplinarno in transdisciplinarno povezovanje humanistike in družboslovja ter njunih jedrnih strok, predvsem filozofije in psihologije. Pri tem revija ohranja in spodbuja tudi dialog z drugimi disciplinarnimi področji, npr. naravoslovjem, medicino idr. V svoji vsebinski usmeritvi revija objavlja in bo objavljala vrhunske domače in mednarodne znanstvene izsledke s področja filozofije in psihologije, drugih humanističnih, družboslovnih strok ter še zlasti znanstvene prispevke, usmerjene k interdisciplinarno ali transdisciplinarno obravnavanim aktualnim tematikam, ki presegajo disciplinarne okvire in vključujejo vsa znanstvena in strokovna področja. Jedro revije predstavljajo izvirni znanstveno raziskovalni članki iz omenjenih področij (tako empirični kot teoretsko pregledni). *Anthropos* je uradni časopis Slovenskega filozofskega društva in Društva psihologov Slovenije.

Predloge prispevkov je treba poslati po elektronski pošti na naslov: anthropos@guest.arnes.si. Uredništvo po prejemu elektronske verzije avtorja po elektronski pošti obvesti o prejemu prispevka, ki gre v recenzentski postopek. Avtor je o sprejemu ali nesprejemu prispevka v objavo praviloma obveščen v času 3 mesecev po prejemu članka. V istem času avtor prejme elektronsko pismo, v katerem ga uredništvo obvesti o morebitnih nujnih in priporočenih popravkih, po potrebi se od avtorja zahteva vnovičen jezikovni pregled besedila. Avtor mora vrniti popravljen prispevek v roku 7 dni. Po objavi prispevka avtor prejme 1 izvod časopisa na domači ali delovni naslov in separat prispevka v elektronski obliki na elektronski naslov.

Uredništvo članek opremi tudi z UDK vrstilcem, prispevki pa so razvrščeni v naslednje kategorije:

- *Izvirni znanstveni članek* vsebuje izvirne rezultate lastnih raziskav, ki še niso bili objavljeni. Članek je recenziran. Avtor se z izjavo obvezuje, da prispevka ne bo objavil drugje.
- *Strokovni članek* prikazuje rezultate strokovnih raziskav. Tudi ti prispevki so recenzirani in avtor se z izjavo obveže, da prispevka ne bo objavil drugje.
- *Pregledni članek* imajo značaj izvirnih del. To so natančni in kritični pregledi literature iz posameznih zanimivih strokovnih področij.
- *Poročilo* vsebuje krajše znanstvene informacije o zaključenih raziskovanjih ali kratek opis strokovnih in znanstvenih srečanj. Taki prispevki naj vsebujejo od 3000 do 7500 znakov.
- *Strokovna recenzija* predstavlja znanstvenokritično ovrednotenje relevantnih objavljenih znanstvenih knjig. Prispevki naj vsebujejo od 3000 do 7500 znakov.

Prispevki so lahko napisani v slovenskem ali v enem od svetovnih jezikov. Obsegajo lahko do 2 avtorski poli (60.000 znakov) in morajo biti pregledno strukturirani, po potrebi tudi z vmesnimi naslovi. Naslov (in podnaslov, kadar je to potrebno) prispevka mora jasno odražati njegovo vsebino.

::NASLOVNA STRAN TIPKOPISA NAJ VSEBUJE:

- naslov in podnaslov prispevka v izvirnem jeziku in prevodu v tuj jezik
- ime in priimek avtorja, avtorjeve nazive in akademske naslove, ime in naslov inštitucije, kjer je zaposlen oz. domači naslov
- povzetek v slovenščini in enem od svetovnih jezikov, dolžina do 120 besed, s ključnimi besedami v slovenščini in tujem jeziku, do 7 ključnih besed (enako velja, če je prispevek napisan v tujem jeziku)

- Prevod naslova prispevka v tuj jezik
- na dnu strani naslednjo izjavo: »Prispevek ni bil oddan v objavo drugje v identični ali podobni obliki, niti ne bo v prvih treh mesecih po oddaji na uredništvo časopisa *Anthropos*.«

::NASLEDNJA STRAN TIPKOPISA NAJ VSEBUJE:
- naslov in podnaslov prispevka
- povzetek v slovenščini s ključnimi besedami

Naslov in podnaslovi so tipkani **polkrepko**, naslovi knjig v *kurzivi*, naslovi člankov z uporabo »dvojnih navednic«. Odstavkov se ne ločuje s prazno vrstico. Za označitev novega odstavka se uporablja tabulatorski zamik v desno. Grafično oblikovanje (slog, okviri, številčenje strani) se ne uporablja. Glavno besedilo je napisano v pisavi Times New Roman v velikosti 12, sprotne opombe pisavi Times New Roman v velikosti 10. Vsebinske opombe se navajajo na sprotni način pod črto, ravno tako bibliografski navedki, če citat presega 40 besed (glej tipske primere spodaj). Če citat ne presega 40 besed, so bibliografski podatki vključeni med besedilo v skrajšani obliki na koncu citata (Veber, 1999: 12). Vsa citirana literatura mora biti s popolnimi podatki navedena na koncu članka v poglavju »Literatura«. Bibliografske navedbe morajo biti razvrščene po abecedi avtorjev ter po letu izdaje, kadar gre za več del istega avtorja, omejiti pa se morajo na tista besedila in avtorje, ki v prispevku služijo kot neposredna referenca. Posamezne tipe bibliografskih virov navajamo na naslednji način:

::KNJIGA
Nietzsche, F. (2005): *Vesela znanost*. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica.

::ZBORNIK
Vogrinc, J., Rošker S., J. in Saksida, A., (ur.) (2000): *Prestop: Spominski zbornik Iztoka Sakside-Saxa*. Ljubljana: ZIFF.

::ZBORNIK, PRISPEVEK
Held, K. (1997): »Grundbestimmung und Zeitkritik bei Martin Heidegger.« V: **Papenfuss, D. in Pöggeler, O. (ur.):** *Zur philosophischen Aktualität Heideggers*. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klosterman, str. 31-57.

::ČLANEK V REVIJI*:*
Barbarić, D. (1997): »Človek v noči.« V: *Phainomena*, VI/19-20, Ljubljana: Nova revija, str. 126-144.

::INTERNETNI PRISPEVEK
Fredrickson, B. L. (2000): »Cultivating positive emotions to optimize health and well-being.« V: *Prevention & Treatment*, 3, Article 0001a. Povzeto 20. novembra 2000 s strani http://journals.apa.org/prevention/volume3/pre0030001a.html.

::Za bibliografske navedke v opombah uporabljamo naslednjo tipologijo:

Descartes, R. (1988): *Meditacije*, Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, str. 34-35.

Barlow, D. H. & Lehman, C. L. (1996): »Advances in the psychosocial treatment of anxiety disorders.« V: *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 53, str. 730.

Prav tam, str. 45.

Prispevke, ki ne bodo ustrezali omenjenim kriterijem, bo uredništvo prisiljeno zavrniti. Uredništvo tipkopisov ne vrača.

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Authors should send their proposal to the editorial email address: anthropos@guest.arnes.si.

After receiving the electronic version of the proposed contribution, the editorial board sends author an e-mail confirming the submission of contribution, which then enters the review process. Author is informed of the reviewers' decision in up to 3 months after submission. Author is requested to do the proofreading of the text if contribution fails to meet the layout and language quality standards. The author's response, with or without corrections, should be sent within 7 days. After publication, one issue of journal is sent to author's surface address, as provided on the first page of proposed contribution, and an electronic offprint to the provided electronic address.

Contributions can be written in Slovene or any major foreign language, and should not exceed 10.000 words (60.000 characters).

::THE FIRST PAGE SHOULD CONTAIN:
- title and subtitle of contribution (with translation into a major foreign language)
- name(s) of author(s), surface and email address
- a 100-120 word abstract in Slovene or any major foreign language, a list of up to 7 key words in Slovene or foreign language
- Statement of exclusive submission at the page bottom: "This paper has not been submitted elsewhere in identical or similar form, nor will it be during the first three months after its submission to *Anthropos*."

::THE SECOND PAGE SHOULD CONTAIN:
- title and subtitle of contribution
- abstract and key words

The title (and subtitle, if necessary) is written in **bold type**, book titles in *italics* and article titles within "double quotation marks". No blank lines between paragraphs are to be applied. New paragraphs are introduced by shifting the left margin to the right (using the TAB key). Graphic design (style, framing, edges, pagination etc.) should not be applied. Uniform font style is used throughout the text (Times New Roman), the font size for the main body of the text is 12 and for footnotes 10. For notes, footnotes should be used; the same applies for quotation references, if quotation exceeds 40 words (see examples below). Otherwise, the "author-date" style of referencing should be used in the main body of the text by inserting the author surname, year of publication and page number in brackets at the end of quotation (Nietzsche, 1992: 31). Entire bibliography should be listed in alphabetical order and according to the year of publication (if more works by the same author are

listed) at the end of contribution under the heading "Literature", and should be limited to the scope of works directly referred to in text. Bibliography at the end of text should be put down according to the rules applied in the examples listed below, and organized alphabetically:

::BOOK, AUTHORED
Husserl, E. (1970): *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology: An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy*. Chicago: Northwestern University Press.

::BOOK, EDITED
Felner, R. D., Jason, L. A., Moritsugu, J. N. & Farber, S. S. (Eds.) (1983): *Preventive psychology: Theory, research and practice*. New York: Pergamon Press.

::BOOK, CHAPTER
Held, K. (1997): »Grundbestimmung und Zeitkritik bei Martin Heidegger.« In: **Papenfuss, D. in Pöggeler, O. (Eds.):** *Zur philosophischen Aktualität Heideggers*. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klosterman, pp. 31-57.

::JOURNAL ARTICLE
Elliot, A. J. & Thrash, T. M. (2002): "Approach-Avoidance Motivation in Personality: Approach and Avoidance Temperaments and Goals." In: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 82, No. 5, pp. 804-818.

::DISSERTATION
Trent, J.W. (1975): *Experimental acute renal failure*. Dissertation, University of California.

::INTERNET PUBLICATION
Seligman, M. E. P. (1998): "Positive psychology network concept paper." Retrieved June 22, 2000 from http://www.positivepsychology.org/ppgrant.htm

::For quotation references in footnotes, the style of the following examples should be followed:
Descartes R. (1989): *The Passions of the Soul*. Indianapolis/ Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, pp. 18-19.

Barlow, D. H. & Lehman, C. L. (1996): »Advances in the psychosocial treatment of anxiety disorders.« In: *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 53, p. 730.

Ibid, p. 45.

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